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ABSTRACT

This document comprises the two 1998 issues of the journal. Articles included are: "El Paso Programs for English Language Learners: A Longitudinal Follow-Up Study" (Russell Gersten, Scott Baker, and Thomas Keating); "Two Activists in Anaheim, California, Speak Out" (Harald G. Martin and Cathy Liska); "A Fifty-State Survey of Requirements for the Education of Language Minority Children" (Anita Garcia and Cynthia Morgan); "Afterword: A Response to Barbara Mujica" (Stephen Krashen); "Mystery on the Bilingual Express: A Critique of the Thomas and Collier Study 'School Effectiveness for Language Minority Students'" (Christine H. Rossell); "The Labor Market Effect of Bilingual Education among Hispanic Workers" (Mark Hugo Lopez and Marie T. Mora); "New Insights: A Review of Ruben Rumbaut's 'Transformations: The Post-Immigrant Generation in an Age of Diversity'" (Paul Hollander); "Four Year Longitudinal Report for the English Acquisition Program in the Bethlehem Area School District" (Ann Goldberg). (Each article contains extensive references and/or endnotes.) (KFT)

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READ PERSPECTIVES

SPRING 1998 · VOL. V, NO. 1

INSIDE:

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– Russell Gersten, Scott Baker, and Thomas Keating

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– Harald Martin
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– Cathy Liska

A Fifty-State Survey of Requirements for the Education of Language Minority Children
– Anita Garcia and Cynthia Morgan

Afterword
A Response to Barbara Mujica
– Stephen Krashen

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INTRODUCTION

The Institute for Research in English Acquisition and Development (READ) celebrates the beginning of its fifth year of publication of *READ Perspectives* with this volume. The journal has not only survived in a perilous time for scholarly magazines, but is steadily gaining visibility and a growing list of individual and university library subscribers. The invitation to join the Transaction Periodicals Consortium at Rutgers University in 1996 gave *READ Perspectives* two major advantages: an affiliation with thirty-five highly respected journals in the social sciences, and a considerable reduction in printing and distribution costs. We must also acknowledge that our journal would not be a reality without the continuing support of several foundations.

In 1991, the READ Institute commissioned its first research project, a comprehensive analysis of the El Paso, Texas, programs for language minority students (*Bilingual Immersion: A Longitudinal Evaluation of the El Paso Program*, 1992, Washington, D.C.: The READ Institute). The study by Professor Russell Gersten of the University of Oregon reported on seven years of data comparing Spanish-speaking students in two groups: the treatment group who were assigned to the Bilingual Immersion Project and taught all their school subjects in English from the first day of school, with 30 minutes to 90 minutes a day of Spanish; and the control group who were enrolled in the Transitional Bilingual Education Program and taught all subjects in Spanish, with a 30 minute to 60 minute English lesson daily. Results showed that immersion students outperformed their peers in the bilingual program in English language learning and in knowledge of school subjects, in grades 4, 5, and 6, according to ITBS and district tests. The study also reported that no differences were observed in either group in levels of self-esteem or stress.

Professor Gersten and his colleagues at the University of Oregon, Professors Scott Baker and Thomas Keating, have now completed a follow-up study on El Paso. They analyze data on the academic performance of high school students from the original study groups who are still enrolled in district schools, eighty-nine from the English immersion classes and eighty-six from the native language classes. After ten or more years in the El Paso schools, differences in academic performance between the two groups in reading, math and writing are not dramatic or significant.

There is a very important kernel of fact-based wisdom embedded in the objec-

tive statistical analyses and measured statements of Gersten, Baker and Keating. In the concluding policy implications and findings, they state:

> These findings fail to support the widely held belief that increased native language instruction throughout the seven years of elementary school will lead to better long term outcomes than a much more rapid introduction of English language instruction. For that reason, we urge policy-makers to seriously question their investment in an approach that has no empirical support. (p. 24)

Ramirez, Collier, Wong-Filmore and other noted researchers in this field have strongly promoted the notions that long years of native language instruction produce higher student achievement at the secondary school level than the performance of LEP students provided a mostly English language program, and that literacy must be developed first in the native language before reading can be effectively mastered in the second language. The rigorous longitudinal study conducted in El Paso over a ten-year period proves beyond doubt that special, English-intensive, content-based instruction from the first day of school, and the early development of literacy in English for LEP students produces superior results up to grade 6, and comparable—not inferior—results in grades 7 through 12.

Heretofore, READ Perspectives has published mainly reviews of new research, individual program descriptions and program evaluations. In this present issue, two companion pieces from Anaheim, California, contribute a new insight into the day-by-day workings of language minority education. They provide detailed accounts of the serious problems faced by educators challenging an unresponsive school administration. Harald Martin, elected School Board member, and Cathy Liska, elementary school teacher for twenty-five years, both in Anaheim, have extraordinary experiences to relate. How these two activists fared in their individual efforts to improve learning for limited-English students is of special interest to California educators, but the circumstances described will be all too familiar to many in public schools across the country.

The third article in the current issue is a survey of the legal requirements for the education of limited-English children in all fifty states, the most current data available in late 1997. It is valuable information for educators, legislators and parents of school children. Also included are the figures on the number of limited-English students and the level of funding per student in each state. A wide disparity in funding levels is instantly apparent, ranging from zero dollars, to a modest $400 per year per student for two years in Colorado, to the very generous $2,500 extra per student allocated annually in Florida and Mas-

sachusetts. This survey, the work of Anita Garcia and Cynthia Morgan, was entirely supported by the Center for Equal Opportunity in Washington, D.C.

The last article is a new feature in *READ Perspectives*—"Afterword"—initiating a section devoted to readers' responses to material published previously in this journal. Steven Krashen takes this opportunity to differ on several points with the review by Barbara Mujica of his recent book, *Under Attack: The Case against Bilingual Education*. Mujica's review, entitled "Irreconcilable Differences: Two Approaches to Educating LEP Students," appeared in the Fall, 1997, issue of *READ Perspectives* (Vol. IV-2). We cordially invite responsible commentaries on any of our published articles, now that Professor Krashen has "christened" this new section.

Finally, we have an important announcement for educators, researchers, academics, and our general readers. Beginning in 1998, *READ Perspectives* will become an annual publication. It will contain at least twice the number of pages now published in two volumes, and will appear in September of each year. Each issue will focus on a general theme, although other articles of special importance will be considered. We invite proposals now for research support and will accept manuscripts on the general theme, "Following Up on Effective Programs for Limited-English Students: The How, What or Where of What's Working."

Rosalie Pedalino Porter, Editor
READ Perspectives

El Paso Programs for English Language Learners: A Longitudinal Follow-up Study

Russell Gersten, Ph.D.
Scott Baker, Ph.D.
Thomas Keating, Ph.D.

Over the last fifteen years, the field of bilingual education has grappled with the problem of how to introduce English language instruction in school. Many early English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) programs stressed grammar and usage in a decontextualized fashion whereas contemporary ESOL programs have emphasized more natural, conversational instructional methods (McLaughlin, 1985). Recently, ESOL programs have begun to emphasize merging second-language instruction with reading, language arts, and content-area instruction. This has been stimulated by insights from research by Allen (1989), Barrera (1984), Chamot and O'Malley (1989), and Elley and Mangubhai (1983). Many of these researchers have utilized contemporary approaches to literacy instruction as a basis for enhancing English language development.

When researchers have integrated English language instruction with content-area instruction in subjects such as mathematics, science, and social studies, results have also been promising (Chamot & O'Malley, 1989). This emerging body of research has had a profound effect on the manner in which English is introduced to limited-English proficient students.

Contrasting Models of Bilingual Education

Apart from the manner in which English is introduced, a major source of controversy in the field of bilingual education is *when* to move students into English language academic instruction. Those favoring an *immersion* approach believe that this transition should be made as early as first grade (Genesee, 1984; Northcutt & Watson, 1986). They argue that students can acquire English while learning academic content if English is introduced systematically and gradually. Other bilingual educators believe that the transition should be more gradual and that native language instruction should be used through-

out the student's entire elementary schooling (Cummins, 1980; Krashen, 1982). Although a variety of terms describe this approach, we use *transitional bilingual education* throughout this article to describe this method.

Ramirez (1992) differentiated between three types of bilingual education programs. In total immersion programs students receive virtually all of their instruction in English from the first day of school. In the early-exit programs, transitional teachers use English approximately two-thirds of the time in kindergarten and first grade and the student's native language during the remaining time. By fourth grade virtually all of the student's instruction is in English.

In the late-exit programs, English is used approximately 15 percent to 25 percent of the time in the primary grades. Most academic instruction is in the native language. However, Ramirez found that individual schools varied greatly in the amount of English they provided students under each of these program models.

Like most bilingual programs for Latino students in the United States, El Paso has struggled to find the right balance between English language acquisition and academic content learning, and has offered programs reflecting differential emphasis on both viewpoints since 1984. The following sections briefly present the thinking behind the two approaches underlying the El Paso Transitional Bilingual Education and Bilingual Immersion Programs.

Transitional Bilingual Education

Wong-Fillmore and Valdez (1986) offered a concise rationale for the transitional bilingual education model as the best way to ensure high levels of literacy for language minority students. They argued that although students who are limited in English proficiency (LEP) "can acquire decoding skills relatively easily... they have considerably greater difficulty making sense of the materials they read.... [This] attests to the necessity of knowing the language before reading it. If reading involves the act of making intelligible to oneself written texts of any complexity beyond that of street signs, it is not possible to read in a language one does not know" (p. 661). They inferred from research that premature transfer of students into all-English academic programs would interfere with the development of higher order thinking (Krashen, 1982; Moll & Diaz, 1986).

Wong-Fillmore and Valdez (1986) also argued that such placement leads to instructional materials that are simplified or "watered down" to meet students' perceived competence. "A common reaction to the less-than-fluent English of a student is to teach content from a lower grade level and to expect

only lower-level cognitive skills, such as simple recall" (Chamot & O'Malley, 1989, p. 114). Thus, the predominant use of simplified materials can lead to unnecessary constraints on students' cognitive growth (Ramirez, Yuen, Ramey, Pasta, & Billings, 1990). Furthermore, premature transition into all-English programs is likely to stifle use of Spanish in the home and community (Cziko, 1992; Wong-Fillmore & Valdez, 1986).

Teachers in transitional bilingual programs conduct academic instruction in students' primary language until students:

a. Demonstrate an adequate grasp of English, thus enabling them to succeed in classes with English language academic instruction; and
b. Exhibit competence in academic areas in their native language.

One goal of transitional bilingual education is increased mastery of concepts in mathematics, social studies, and other content areas since they are taught in Spanish, the language that students understand the best. Transitional bilingual education is widely implemented in communities with large numbers of Latino students such as El Paso.

Immersion Programs

In the 1980s, an innovative but controversial alternative to transitional bilingual education was introduced in the U.S. There were several reasons for this. One was the large influx of Southeast Asian students speaking many different languages—Lao, Cambodian, Vietnamese. Districts no longer had twenty or thirty students at a given grade who spoke the same language, so transitional bilingual education was not viable. Furthermore, there were few qualified teachers who spoke Hmong or Cambodian.

Districts began experimenting with forms of immersion variously termed "sheltered English" (Northcutt & Watson, 1986), content area ESOL (Echevarria, 1998; Echevarria & Graves, 1997; Chamot & O'Malley, 1989) or specially designed academic instruction in English (California State Department of Education, 1996). Language-minority students were taught English as they learned math. The key to this method was that English instruction was *comprehensible*—it was sensitive to students' English proficiency. In this respect, sheltered English immersion programs were an advancement over earlier "submersion" approaches that placed language minority students in general education classes with little or no support.

Immersion advocates believed that the greater the systematic exposure to English at school, the more likely students were to begin to use English spon-

taneously—both in conversations with peers and in academic interactions. The results of these programs appeared promising in both the elementary (Gersten, 1985; Gersten, Taylor, Woodward, & White, 1984) and secondary schools (Chamot & O'Malley, 1989). The early versions of English immersion tended to include little or no native language instruction—even for very young students (Gersten & Woodward, 1985). For this reason, many bilingual educators perceived immersion negatively (Crawford, 1989; Mackey, 1978).

Recognizing the validity of some of the concerns raised by critics of total English immersion, yet feeling strongly that English could and should be systematically introduced through academic instruction in language arts, math, and reading in the early grades, contemporary advocates of the immersion approach advocate a method that integrates second-language instruction with content-area materials. This approach, pioneered in El Paso, is sometimes called *bilingual immersion*. This approach retains the predominant focus on English language instruction from the immersion model but tempers it with a substantive, four-year Spanish language program so that students maintain their facility with their native language. The use of English language arts and reading instruction to foster the rapid acquisition of English language at both a conversational and conceptual level is a cornerstone in the evolution of bilingual immersion.

Research Findings on Models of Bilingual Education

Evaluations of bilingual education programs have always produced debate and uncertainty (August & Hakuta, 1997; Lam, 1992; Meyer & Fienburg, 1992). A good deal of uncertainty remains about the central question in bilingual education—*when* to introduce students to intensive English language academic instruction (Crawford, 1989; McLaughlin 1985). Some educators had hoped that the federally supported, large-scale evaluation study of numerous school districts throughout the country conducted by Ramirez et al. (1990), would resolve this issue. Unfortunately, the results were inconclusive.

Ramirez et al. (1990) attempted to determine the best time to move students into classes taught only in English, by comparing approaches that fell into the three categories described earlier:

a. Total Immersion;
b. Early-Exit; and
c. Late-Exit.

These researchers' five-year longitudinal evaluation involved a rich range of measures, including academic assessments in both English and Spanish, and

classroom observations documenting the language used for instruction. Ramirez found no significant differences between the three approaches. He did note, however that the *rate* of achievement growth on English language tests for students who had begun with extensive amounts of native language appeared high during their early years of English language instruction. He thus hypothesized that these students might surpass the other two groups, if the longitudinal evaluations had been extended.

Like many evaluations of its scope, the Ramirez et al. (1990) study had several serious flaws. The researchers were unable to compare sheltered English to transitional bilingual education as it is commonly practiced ("late exit") within the same district. In addition, they failed to assess achievement of immersion students in grades 5 and 6; only transitional bilingual education students were assessed at those grades. This is a crucial shortcoming, since equitable assessment of the effects of instructional programs over time is especially important in the area of language acquisition (August & Hakuta, 1997).

Discouraging and confusing as the lack of significant differences among programs may appear, such results have forced researchers to redefine research topics as well as to constrain and more clearly delineate the scope of bilingual investigation. The recent work of Cziko (1992) and August and Hakuta (1997) have yielded results of only limited interest.

The National Research Council (August & Hakuta, 1997) recently concluded that program evaluations in bilingual education typically suffer from such significant design flaws that conclusions about the effectiveness of different types of bilingual education programs are very difficult to discern. They argue for higher quality local evaluations.

In this regard, a good deal could be learned from exploratory *longitudinal* research conducted within one community in which different instructional models and underlying philosophies are reasonably well defined. Although in our experience such a situation is not easy to find, the El Paso, Texas, school district provides a unique opportunity for this type of research. Two well-defined but different models for educating language minority students have been widely implemented there for over ten years and were the focus of an earlier longitudinal evaluation study that tracked student performance through seventh grade.

One of the strengths of that evaluation is that because the study was conducted in just one district, it was possible to better understand the implementation of the different programs to such a degree that the results could be

published in a peer-reviewed journal (i.e., Gersten & Woodward, 1995), a point noted in the recent National Research Council (August & Hakuta, 1997) report.

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE ORIGINAL STUDY

The purpose of the original longitudinal study was to examine the effects of two methods of bilingual education developed and used in the El Paso, Texas, school district: *transitional bilingual education* and *bilingual immersion*. Unlike Ramirez et al. (1990), we compared an immersion approach to a transitional bilingual education approach *within the same school district*, where resources, length of the school year, class size, and other relevant variables are similar. In addition, unlike students in the Ramirez sample, all of the students in our study began first grade as limited-English proficient.

The research reported in the original study (Gersten & Woodward, 1985; Gersten, Woodward, & Schneider, 1992) compares effects of transitional bilingual education and bilingual immersion on academic achievement over four years, from grades three through seven—three years longer than the Ramirez et al. (1990) study. By this time, all students in both programs had entered mainstream English instruction.

Transitional Bilingual Education Model

This relatively "late-exit" transitional bilingual education program began in 1970. Until 1984, it included all limited-English proficient students in the city (Teschner, 1990). During this period, the El Paso Independent School District had one of the largest transitional bilingual education programs in Texas and in the United States.

The El Paso program is consistent with the framework for transitional bilingual education described previously. Subject matter and concepts in all academic areas are initially taught in the student's primary language—i.e., Spanish. The goal is to develop skills and abilities in oral and written communication and reading comprehension in the student's primary language. This means that at beginning levels, students are taught in Spanish for the majority of the day. They learn to read in Spanish, learn math in Spanish, and later receive instruction in science and social studies in Spanish.

English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) instruction begins in first grade for about one hour a day. A natural language (Cummins, 1980) approach is utilized. The program initially focuses on functional and conversational English and then moves into the vocabulary concepts used in academic instruction.

Academic instruction in English begins gradually by the late second grade. When students' English skills have developed to a level where teachers think students can benefit from academic instruction in English, they begin the transitional phase of the program (formal reading instruction in English) and receive instruction in English during content-area classes. The goal is to teach academic content in English in such a way that instruction is comprehensible to students (Krashen, 1982). Typically, students do not begin all-English instruction until grades 4, 5, or 6.

El Paso Bilingual Immersion Program

In 1984, a group of educators in El Paso, Texas, developed an approach towards bilingual education that stresses English language instruction presented in the context of content instruction (e.g., reading and language arts, mathematics, social studies, and science). Bilingual immersion involves accelerating the introduction of English while maintaining some Spanish language instruction.

A group of teachers and members of the Latino community in El Paso felt that transitional bilingual education had failed to capitalize on students' burgeoning knowledge of the English language. Though hardly fluent in English, these students quickly acquired the rudiments of conversational English. After all, El Paso is a bilingual city, and its students learn English through television, radio, and what they hear in the community and at school. Also, because El Paso is a bilingual/bicultural city, many parents and teachers did not fear that an emphasis on English in the schools would threaten students' ethnic identity and self-concept.

The bilingual immersion program utilizes a range of instructional strategies to give students frequent exposure to ideas presented in the English language. In addition, the program provides students frequent opportunities to express their own ideas in English, both orally and in writing, and to learn English. The program intentionally introduces students to large units of language through an emphasis on children's literature. The range of English language-related experiences includes journal writing, semi-structured discussions about stories read by the entire class, and guided discussion of social studies concepts.

Students in the bilingual immersion program are not corrected when they ask or answer questions in Spanish during the English language portion of the day. However, during the English reading, language arts, and math lessons, the teacher makes every attempt to conduct the lesson in English. The teacher always speaks English. If a student's Spanish language responses alert the teacher to a problem, he or she uses a variety of techniques—concrete objects,

gestures, multiple explanations in English—to explain or clarify the concept in English.

A native language (Spanish) component lasts approximately ninety minutes a day in the first grade and is gradually reduced to thirty minutes in the fourth grade. During this period, instruction and student-teacher interaction are entirely in Spanish.

Methodology in the Original Study

Student sample. The seventh grade study comprised 111 students in the bilingual immersion sample and 117 students in the transitional bilingual education sample. These students were selected because they met the following criteria:

a. They were classified as having little or no knowledge of English upon beginning first grade (as assessed by a district-developed oral language assessment);
b. They began one of the district's two instructional programs for language-minority students in first grade and participated in the program for at least four years; and
c. They took the Iowa Tests of Basic Skills (ITBS) in the areas of language, reading, and mathematics.

Throughout the district where the study was conducted, eighteen schools were implementing transitional bilingual education and nineteen schools were implementing bilingual immersion. Decisions about which of the two programs to implement were made by the school principal in consultation with the faculty.

Schools were selected to participate in the longitudinal study by the district research office. Ten schools in the district with large proportions of English-language learners were selected; five of the schools implemented bilingual immersion, and five implemented transitional bilingual education. All of the schools served low income families; over 93 percent of the students in the study received free or reduced lunch. Student outcome data were collected between 1985 and 1991.

Achievement measures. The major outcome measure in the original study was achievement on the Iowa Tests of Basic Skills (ITBS) in grades 4, 5, 6, and 7. During these four years students spent most of their school day in English language instruction. Prior to the fourth grade, comparisons between students in the two conditions were not made because students spent very different

amounts of time in English language instruction. Beginning in grade 4, the district routinely tested all second language students, except for recent immigrants, on the ITBS in English.

Results of the Original Study

Student achievement from fourth to seventh grade. Results of the original longitudinal analyses are presented in Table 1. Two by four analyses of covariance were performed on ITBS scores at each grade for language and reading, with entry English proficiency scores used as a covariance.

Normal curve equivalent (NCE) scores on the ITBS were utilized for the analyses of covariance. The mean NCE scores were then converted to percentile ranks.

The 2 x 4 analysis of covariance on ITBS *Language* showed a significant interaction [$F_{(3, 732)} = 15.12$; $p < .001$]. Because of the presence of interaction, analyses of simple effects were conducted. These revealed significant differences between programs for grades 4, 5, and 6, favoring the bilingual immersion approach:

1. Grade 4, $F_{(1, 225)} = 27.37$; $p < .001$;
2. Grade 5, $F_{(1, 225)} = 8.03$; $p < .005$; and
3. Grade 6, $F_{(1, 225)} = 3.96$; $p < .05$.

The difference for grade 7 was not significant. The 2 x 4 analysis of covariance for reading revealed a significant main effect for type of program $F_{(1, 243)} = 4.70$; $p < .05$. Although the interaction was not significant, the magnitude of the difference in grades 6 and 7 is substantially less than in grades 4 and 5.

Overall, the data in Table 1 showed a consistent pattern. In the fourth grade, bilingual immersion students demonstrated superior performance in all areas of academic performance assessed. Over time, differences between the two groups decreased. This pattern was not surprising since unlike the bilingual immersion students who began English full-day language instruction in grade 3 or 4, most of the transition students did not begin English instruction until grade 5 or 6. This is when the greatest gain would be expected (see, for example, Ramirez, 1992).

Rate of entry into mainstream classes. In spring of 1990, when students were in the sixth grade, 65 percent of the transitional bilingual students were in mainstream classes, whereas 99 percent of the sixth graders who had been in the bilingual immersion program were in mainstream classes. This difference was statistically significant ($c^2 = 46.3$; $p<.001$). In other words, students in the bilin-

Table 1
Scores from Grades 4 through 7 (in Normal Curve Equivalence Units) for Immersion and Transitional Students on Iowa Tests of Basic Skills

	Bilingual Immersion (N = 111)			Transitional Bilingual Education (N = 117)		
Grade	M	SD	Percentile	M	SD	Percentile
			Total Language			
4	46.52	15.40	44	36.12	13.97	26
5	43.97	14.73	39	38.52	14.20	30
6	43.19	15.09	37	39.22	15.55	30
7	44.36	16.91	39	43.23	15.74	37
			Total Reading			
4	32.21	12.71	20	28.3	12.67	15
5	33.01	12.27	21	30.47	14.12	17
6	33.59	13.6	23	32.79	14.63	21
7	34.65	14.22	24	33.49	14.68	21

Note: Covariance-adjusted mean scores are used throughout the table.

gual immersion program entered the mainstream significantly more rapidly than students in the transitional bilingual program.

The Follow-up Evaluation of High School Achievement

The purpose of the present study was to determine whether there were differences in reading, math, and writing performance of English language learners in high school who had received instruction in a transitional bilingual education program during the first four years of school versus English language learners who received instruction in a bilingual immersion program during the same period. Data were collected from 1994 to 1996.

Students in the Follow-up Evaluation

In the current evaluation there were eighty-nine students in the bilingual immersion program (BIP), and eighty-six students in the transitional bilingual education program (TBE). All of these students were included in the original study (which included 111 students in the bilingual immersion program and 117 students in the transitional bilingual education program). Thus, there was a 19.8 percent attrition rate in the bilingual immersion sample and 26.5 percent attrition in the transitional bilingual education sample. Both of these rates are small for a longitudinal study. Attrition was due to a variety of reasons,

including moving out of the district, failure to complete high school, and or absences during test periods.

The two groups contained similar proportions of male and female students. The number of males was slightly greater in each group (55 percent in bilingual immersion and 56 percent in transitional bilingual education). In the bilingual immersion group, 73 percent of the students were eligible for free lunches and 12 percent of the students were eligible for reduced lunches. The numbers of students in the transitional bilingual education program who were eligible for free and reduced-cost lunches were 91 percent and 8 percent, respectively.

Measures

Three years of achievement data from the *Texas Assessment of Academic Skills* (TAAS) were obtained for the same cohort of students for years in which they would be projected to be in grades 10 through 12. Multiple years were collected since students take the TAAS subtests until they reach mastery criterion in each content area. Data received from the El Paso school district included the achievement scores and demographic descriptors.

Every student in the state of Texas is required to obtain a passing Texas Learning Index (TLI) score on the exit-level TAAS to receive a high school diploma and graduate. The TLI assesses student performance in reading and math.

We also analyzed two writing measures on the TAAS. One measure is a multiple choice writing test that assesses primarily language conventions (i.e., spelling and punctuation). We used the number of items answered correctly in data analysis. A second measure assesses writing quality. A four-point scale is used to assess important dimensions of writing such as organization of ideas and use of writing conventions. Inter-rater reliability for the rating was .65.

Because of the importance of the test, we felt the TAAS represented the best source available to analyze differences between English-language learners in the bilingual immersion and transitional bilingual education programs. Because all students are required to take the TAAS until they pass it, the likelihood is high that there would be as many students as possible in the sample. Also, because of the importance of the test, there is a strong incentive for them to do their best.

Scoring Metric Used

The TLI is anchored at the exit-level passing standard, which is a score of 70 (with a standard deviation of 15) on both the reading and math sections. Students are required to take the exit-level TAAS for the first time at the end of

tenth grade and are required to take the TAAS at every offered administration until they receive a passing score. The TAAS is administered multiple times from the end of the tenth grade until the end of the twelfth grade.

All TAAS results are described in terms of the highest score students attained over multiple administrations of the test beginning in the spring of 1994.

Data Analysis

Data were analyzed using the statistical analysis package, *SPSS 6.1 for the Macintosh*. Between groups analyses were conducted using t-tests for independent samples to compare performance of students in the bilingual immersion program to the performance of students in the transitional bilingual education program. All *p*-values are two-tail because we had no expectation that one program would result in superior performance over the other.

Primary analysis compared the groups on the highest score each student achieved across the three years of the TAAS administration. This analysis includes data for students in both groups who had been retained for one of two years prior to the tenth grade, and thus allows for participation in the sample of the greatest number of students with differential exposure to the two instructional approaches.

The differences between students in bilingual immersion group and students in the transitional bilingual education group were compared on a number of achievement dimensions. In terms of academic achievement, comparisons were made on standardized, multiple-choice tests in reading, math, and writing. A qualitative measure of student writing is also used to compare differences between the groups. Metrics for the analysis include standard scores, raw scores, NCEs and percentile ranks. The percentage of students in each group who met the minimum required standards for high school graduation in these academic areas are also analyzed.

Overall grade point averages were examined to compare differences between the groups. Finally, percentile rank scores were analyzed to determine how well students in each of the two groups did compared to students throughout the state of Texas.

RESULTS

Sample Demographics

Because of slight discrepancies in sample demographics, we conducted exploratory analyses to examine the possible influence of the demographic vari-

ables on high school achievement. We conducted three point-biserial correlational analyses where students were coded on each of three demographic variables: free lunch status (free or reduced vs. ineligible for program), country of birth (Mexico vs. United States or other), and student gender (male vs. female). These binary variables were then correlated with reading, math, and writing scores for the combined groups of students.

Results indicated that only one of these variables was a significant predictor of subsequent academic performance. The only variable with a significant correlation was gender. Since the ratio of males to females was equivalent between the groups, achievement differences by gender do not create problems in the program analysis. In other words, for all intents and purposes, the two samples are equivalent on salient demographic variables. Thus, there is no evidence that the slight discrepancies in demographic characteristics had a confounding influence on results.

Achievement Results

Tables 2 through 5 present comparisons of achievement test scores and grade point average for the two groups of students. As can be seen in Table 2, there are no significant differences between the groups on reading, math, or multiple choice writing measures. Only on the global score for written composition was a significant effect found. Students in the transitional bilingual education group scored significantly higher than students in the bilingual immersion group ($t = -2.06$, $p = .04$). It is important to note, however, that the reliability value of .65 for this measure is lower than desirable for measures of intervention effects, and the magnitude of the effect is quite small.

A measure of effect size (Glass, McGaw, & Smith, 1981) also provides an indication of differences between groups in terms of standard deviation units. The effect sizes indicate that the differences between the groups are small. Generally, magnitude of effects below .20 are considered very small and not relevant educationally. Only one effect is above .20. The written composition effect size was .35, which is typically considered to be a modest effect.

In reading, the average score of approximately seventy is at the level needed for students to pass the TAAS in reading. In terms of normative performance, this places performance at about the forty-fourth percentile. In math, student average performance is slightly below what is needed to pass the TAAS. It must be remembered that most students take the TAAS multiple times and we have recorded the student's highest score regardless of how many times the student has taken the test.

Table 2
Group Means Based on Each Student's Highest Score on the Texas Assessment of Academic Skills from up to Three Administrations (1994, 1995, 1996)*

	Bilingual Immersion (N =75**)		Transitional Bilingual Education (N =72)				
TAAS Sub-test	M	SD	M	SD	t	p	Δ
Reading (in TLI units)	71.97	13.89	70.89	13.89	.50	.62	.08
Math (in TLI units)	65.29	13.06	67.21	14.36	−.85	.40	−.13
Writing Multiple Choice (raw scores)	29.71	4.92	29.78	5.05	−.09	.93	−.01
Writing Composition (4 point rating)	2.11	.65	2.32	.60	−2.06	.04	−.35

Notes: * Students were required to take the TAAS until they passed. Thus, each student had the opportunity to take the test multiple times. The score used in data analysis was each student's highest score during the course of up to three administrations of the test, from 1994 to 1996.

** N= 76 for math only.

Table 3
Percentage of Students Meeting Minimum Expectations in Reading, Math, and Writing across Three Years of Administration of the Texas Assessment of Academic Skills (1994, 1995, 1996)

	Bilingual Immersion (N =80)	Transitional Bilingual Education (N =77)	t	p	Δ
Reading	68%	61%	.84	.40	.14
Math	45%	45%	.06	.96	ϕ
Writing	59%	66%	−.96	.34	−.14

Note: A similar finding emerges in the comparison of overall student grade point average, which is presented in Table 4. None of the differences between students in the bilingual immersion group versus students in the transitional bilingual education group during the years 1994, 1995, or 1996 was statistically significant.

Table 3 shows the percentage of students in each group who achieved the minimum scores necessary to pass the TAAS. As the data indicate, the percentages are quite comparable between the groups and none of the differences is statistically significant.

Table 5 presents percentile ranks for both groups for highest Reading and Math Texas Learning Indices relative to other students in Texas. Percentile rankings for both groups are approximately equal in reading, at about the thirtieth percentile. In math, the bilingual immersion group is at the 36.4th percentile while the transitional bilingual education group is at the 42.9th percentile. This difference is not statistically significant.

Discussion

This evaluation represents the second longitudinal study assessing the impact on academic outcomes of two different bilingual education programs that students participated in during grades 1 through 4. The first evaluation was conducted at the end of grade 7, and examined achievement patterns of students in reading and language in the spring of grades 4, 5, 6, and 7. Overall, the results tend to favor students in the bilingual immersion group over the transitional bilingual education group in grades 4, 5, and 6. In grade 7, there was only a very small difference between the groups on a standardized measure of reading comprehension.

The present evaluation was conducted to determine whether there were effects on high school achievement that could be attributed to the type of instructional program received in grades 1 through 4.

The results showed no consistent differences between the bilingual immersion and the transitional bilingual education groups, and there was no discernible trend in the data suggesting the possibility of differences in patterns of achievement over time. The effect sizes for the comparisons sometimes favored the bilingual immersion group, sometimes the transitional bilingual education group, and in all cases but one the effect sizes were very small ($< .20$) and educationally insignificant.

In one assessment area, writing composition, the results were significantly larger for students in the transitional bilingual education group. On the 1 to 4 rating scale, students in the transitional bilingual education group had a mean of 2.32. Students in the bilingual immersion group had a mean of 2.11. The effect size was small (.21 points of .35 standard deviation units) and the reliability of the measure, at .65, was sufficiently low to interpret the difference cautiously.

Table 4
Comparison of Grade Point Average (out of 100 possible points) in 1994, 1995, and 1996

	Bilingual Immersion			Transitional Bilingual Education					
	N	M	SD	N	M	SD	*t*	*p*	Δ
1994 GPA	84	76.0	11.35	79	77.8	11.13	−1.04	.30	−.16
1995 GPA	89	76.3	9.17	86	76.6	13.14	−.22	.83	−.02
1996 GPA	67	80.0	8.27	62	78.7	16.46	.57	.57	.08

Table 5
Normal Curve Equivalents and Percentile Ranks for Students' Highest Reading and Math TLI Scores across Three Years of the Texas Assessment of Academic Skills (1994, 1995, and 1996)

	Bilingual Immersion			Transitional Bilingual Education		
	Mean NCE	SD	percentile	Mean NCE	SD	percentile
Reading Texas Learning Index	39.3	12.9	30.6	39.1	15.6	30.2
Math Texas Learning Index	42.8	16.6	36.4	46.3	19.2	42.9

ISSUES RELATED TO EVALUATING PROGRAMS FOR ENGLISH LANGUAGE LEARNERS

Impact of Time on Evaluation

The current evaluation raises an essential question for research and evaluation of bilingual education programs. After different programs "end," when should their effectiveness be evaluated? For example, unlike Ramirez et al. (1990, 1992), we were able not only to compare contrasting models within the same district, but to also track students into high school after they left the program in grade 4. Had our longitudinal evaluation ended at grade 5, as did the Ramirez et al. (1990) study, a different, and entirely incorrect, conclusion might have been drawn—that bilingual immersion was superior to transitional bilingual education. Instead, a strict interpretation of our longitudinal comparison of seventh grade and high school achievement indicates

that bilingual immersion and transitional bilingual education are equally viable options.

In terms of overall achievement, Ramirez (1992) found no significant differences between the bilingual immersion, early-exit, and late-exit approaches to bilingual education. He noted, however, that the achievement growth for students who had begun with extensive amounts of native language instruction appeared higher than it was for students in the other groups. He hypothesized that the students who received more native language instruction might eventually surpass the other two groups, especially if the longitudinal evaluations were extended.

This hypothesis has been suggested by other researchers as one of the most important long-term benefits of native language instruction for English language learners. Ramirez (1992), for example, presents what he refers to as the Trajectory Analysis of Matched Percentiles, in which he attempts to determine if the learning rates eventually become higher for English language learners who receive more native language instruction.

Ramirez et al. (1990) comes to the following conclusions:

> A consistent pattern seems to be emerging in the Trajectory Analysis of Matched Percentiles figures. It appears that students who were provided with a substantial and consistent primary language development program learned mathematics, English language, and English reading skills as fast as or faster than the norming population used in this study [i.e., the normative sample on the CTBS]. As their growth in these academic skills is atypical of disadvantaged youth, it provides support for the efficacy of primary language development in facilitating the acquisition of English language skills. (pp. 38–39)

He notes that when instructional programs for English language learners "are examined more closely, it appears that those sites that provided their students with the most primary language instruction consistently grew faster than the norming population" (Ramirez 1990, V l. II, p. 641; Rossell, 1992).

Baker (1992) points out that this conclusion is somewhat misleading because it is equally plausible that students in bilingual programs who receive more years of heavy native language instruction may be playing "catch up" compared to bilingual immersion students. In other words, students in bilingual programs with the most extensive native language instruction fall well behind bilingual immersion students through the third grade and have to play catch up after that point. Baker points out in this alternative interpretation

that, "the data available does not make it possible to determine if they ever do overcome the handicap they appear to have acquired during the first three years of the late-exit program" (p. 66).

Large increases in English language achievement test scores for students during their first two years of English language instruction are common; invariably students then reach a plateau. This phenomenon seems due to the fact that students are becoming familiar with the form of English language in which the test is written, and the type of language used in the items (Baker & de Kanter, 1983; Cziko, 1992; Gersten et al., 1984). To date, there is no evidence of continued acceleration after this initial two-year period, particularly when one looks at the overall scores.

By the second or third year of all English instruction, students are able to adequately read the test and demonstrate their knowledge of mathematics, language conventions, and reading. Rossell (1992) has also made this point, arguing that during the first couple of years of English language assessment, "limited-English proficient students are supposed to make large gains relative to the English monolingual population norm because they are starting from a point where they have low scores because they know little English" (p. 181). This is a phenomenon that we found in earlier work (Gersten & Woodward, 1992).

The high school El Paso longitudinal data from the present evaluation also support this view and provide no evidence to support the Trajectory Analysis of Matched Percentiles hypothesis on reading, math, or language conventions.

Overall Level of Performance

The data do indicate, however, that both programs—at least as measured by the ITBS and the Texas Learning Index (TLI)—are failing many children in the areas of reading comprehension, language, and math. The mean seventh-grade scores on the ITBS correspond to the twenty-fourth percentile for bilingual immersion and twenty-first for transitional bilingual education students in reading comprehension. The average score on the TAAS is only at the minimum level needed to graduate from high school, despite the fact that students took the test repeatedly beginning in 1994, and we used their highest score in data analysis.

The data suggest that as many as half of the English language learners in both groups may not have the reading and math skills necessary to meet the minimum standards for graduation from high school. In general, low-socioeconomic strata minority students in the U.S. achieve at levels considerably lower

than their middle-class peers (Becker & Gersten, 1982; De La Rosa & Maw, 1990; Pallas, Natriello, & McDill, 1989). This problem is not unique to El Paso, and much more work is needed in reforming and restructuring the middle and high school curriculum for minority students (Chamot, 1997; George, Stevenson, Thomas, & Beane, 1992).

Instructional Approach

Another possible issue in the low achievement of students in both groups relates to the long-term effects of the specific type of approach used to teach beginning reading. The bilingual immersion approach relied heavily on the use of whole language to teach beginning reading—de-emphasizing decoding and emphasizing the literary aspects of children's literature. Critics of whole language approaches have argued that this approach is insufficient to meet the needs of beginning readers, especially those students who are most at-risk of reading failure.

We recently examined the literature to identify components of effective instruction in bilingual education, regardless of the language of instruction, and were surprised by how few empirical studies there were on the topic (Gersten, Baker, Marks, & Smith, 1997). Our exhaustive search identified only 8 studies conducted between 1985 and 1996 that used experimental or quasi-experimental designs to explore the impact of instructional variables on student learning for English language learners in grades K-8. The National Research Council (August & Hakuta, 1997) also found very few studies addressing components of effective instruction for English language learners. This is clearly a pressing need.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS OF THE FINDINGS

The lack of significant differences between the two programs in middle and high school achievement supports increased choice and experimentation by teachers and administrators, based on their experiences, the realities of their communities, and the preference of community members. Our results raise questions concerning the assertion of Wong-Fillmore and Valdez (1986) and others that meaningful literacy instruction in English can not begin until students have experienced many years of native language instruction. A decade ago, Barrera (1984), a noted bilingual educator, observed:

> ...the beginning of second-language reading can be a natural, learner-initiated, and learner-controlled occurrence when children approach reading as a desirable, useful, and meaningful activity.... [S]econd-language reading can commence soon after native language reading begins, or de-

> velop virtually alongside it, as long as the learner is making sense of the written language he or she encounters. (p. 170)

The findings of this evaluation continue to indicate that experimentation with various approaches should be encouraged. As Cziko (1992) noted, "knowledge that a number of alternative approaches can be effective in educating language minority students provides those responsible for educating our children with the freedom to choose programs that are consistent with the goals, values, and resources of the local community" (p. 15).

The goal of building competence in English without unduly frustrating students requires a complex balance between utilization of the native language and the language to be acquired. More research needs to be done to isolate, document, and understand practices that enhance comprehension and cognitive growth.

The recent report by the National Academy of Sciences on bilingual education concludes that "local evaluation efforts" should be addressed, in large part, by using both qualitative and quantitative methods to fine tune the effectiveness of services provided. In this sense, the El Paso Independent School District has been exemplary. A well-controlled outcome evaluation of its innovative approach to bilingual education was begun in 1984. Qualitative studies were done to identify exemplary practice (Schneider, 1990) and the district provided a context for federal research describing parameters of effective practice (Gersten, 1996 a, b).

Too often, social scientists search for significant differences among instructional approaches. The original longitudinal evaluation generally produced a lack of significant differences in achievement test scores by the seventh grade in all areas but reading, where the effect was small. A lack of significant achievement differences characterized the groups in high school as well, in all areas except writing composition, where there was a small difference favoring transitional bilingual education.

After considering the results of the outcome evaluation, that neither approach seemed to lead to significantly better achievement growth in high school, the district began to experiment with combining the best features of both approaches. The data continue to suggest that there is no particular harm in the approach with which El Paso has been experimenting since 1984. In this approach, students are introduced early (often in first grade) to content area instruction in English for as long as two and one-half hours per day.

As in all quasi-experimental designs, there may be some other unmeasured variables that affect relative patterns of performance. However, the fact that the students in this evaluation came from similar socioeconomic backgrounds, had similar English language proficiency scores at entry, and that the rates of attrition over time did not impact the two groups of students on key outcome variables differentially supports the validity of the findings.

For these reasons, the findings hold important implications for the field of bilingual education. In particular, these findings fail to support the widely held belief that increased native language instruction throughout the seven years of elementary school will lead to better long term outcomes than a much more rapid introduction of English language instruction. For that reason, we urge policymakers to seriously question their investment in an approach that has no empirical support.

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Two Activists in Anaheim, California, Speak Out

Preface

Rosalie Pedalino Porter, Ed. D.

The two articles that follow are both based on efforts to bring about educational improvements for limited-English students in the public schools of Anaheim, California. Harald Martin and Cathy Liska describe the resistance their efforts faced from administrators in this urban school district which enrolls thousands of limited-English students, mostly Spanish-speaking but with a substantial number of speakers of Vietnamese, Korean, and Filipino languages.

On learning that limited-English proficient (LEP) students in Anaheim were not making reasonable progress in learning the English language and moving into mainstream classrooms, Martin decided to collect data on similar students in ten nearby school districts. After years of effort to overcome administrators' obstructions and delays, he found the factual data that led to these major conclusions: Spanish-speaking LEP students are mostly enrolled in long-term native language instruction programs and have the lowest success rate in becoming fluent English proficient students; speakers of other languages are mostly enrolled in special English language teaching programs and the number of students acquiring English proficiency for regular classroom work is two to three times that of Spanish speakers. Martin's efforts to direct Board policy decisions on the basis of hard facts have received a less than enthusiastic response so far, but he continues his active campaign on behalf of LEP students.

Cathy Liska enlisted the support of her colleagues to retain the successful English language teaching program in the elementary school where she has been a teacher for twenty-five years, after an arbitrary decision was announced, without staff consideration, that the school would begin a native language instruction program. Liska then led a district-wide movement that received strong support from her fellow teachers. They demanded that the district follow California laws and regulations that require parents of LEP students to be

given a choice of native language or English language instruction for their children at the time of school enrollment. Liska's challenges to school administrators took years to reach even partial resolutions and eventually involved not only Anaheim administrators but state officials and the federal Office of Civil Rights in the U.S. Department of Education.

A School Board Member's Efforts

Harald G. Martin

When I was first elected to the Anaheim Union High School District Board of Trustees in 1994, I was very interested in the education of limited-English students, especially in the "native language" instruction issue. I began to explore the pros and cons of the issue by reading dozens of studies and, quite frankly, I was confused. There were a number of studies that indicated bilingual education (meaning native language instruction) was the best method to use. Then there were those studies that indicated an English immersion approach was best. And there were those studies that hedged their bets and said it was a toss-up as to which method succeeded most.

This confusion led me to ask a lot of questions, and I stumbled upon a data collection document used by the California Department of Education called the R30-LC. This form is used by school districts throughout the state to report on the re-designation of Limited-English Proficient (LEP) students. Annually, those students who have not yet learned English well enough to do regular classroom work in English remain classified as LEP, while those who are judged proficient in English are re-designated as Fluent English Proficient (FEP).

At this point I was literally staggered by what I learned. As a member of the high school board of trustees, I received information showing that there was a great deal of inconsistency in how many students were being re-designated. In 1993, 5.21 percent of the LEP students were re-designated as FEP. While in 1994 the number dropped to 3.48 percent and in 1995 it jumped to 9.72 percent. This was with a limited-English student population ranging from 7,344 to 8,133 students during those years. So, over the course of three years the district had an average rate of a little over 6 percent of its limited-English students being re-designated as fluent. I was positive that this low number had to be some kind of aberration. This was a 94 percent failure rate as far as I was concerned and there was no way that it could be allowed to continue.

I began to do more homework. I selected another eleven nearby school districts and asked for copies of their R30-LC reports. Some districts complied immediately without a hint of reservation. Others had a great deal of reluctance to share those reports with me. Eventually, I had to send my requests

worded in such a manner that I would be utilizing the "Freedom of Information Act" (which a newspaper reporter was more than happy to explain to me). The Anaheim City School District (elementary schools, K–6) was the only district that did not comply with my request until I sent a letter requesting the information under the "Freedom of Information Act." After a few months of wrangling with the districts, I got all of the information and began doing data entry into my computer on a school by school basis for each of those eleven districts. Over a three-year period, an average of only 3.96 percent of the LEP students were re-designated as FEP. (See appendix A for details on the districts and data involved.)

Again, I couldn't believe what I was seeing. I had originally thought that Anaheim was doing a terrible job in re-designating students, but by regional standards it was doing fairly well. I called the California Department of Education and learned that a 4 percent re-designation rate was about the average for the state. Doing a bit of simple math, if only 4 percent of the students on average were being re-designated as FEP each year, we would end up with only 52 percent of the Limited-English Proficient students having learned enough English to be considered fluent after thirteen years of schooling from Kindergarten through grade 12.

These figures, on their face, were (and still are) shocking. But there is another story wrapped within this enigma. There were a great variety of programs that were being used to teach LEP students within these districts, and I wanted to take my study a step further. Considering that the overall results were so terrible, I wondered if there was any significant difference between the re-designation rates of children based on the language they spoke. After significant observation of students and discussions with teachers, I had a strong suspicion that the re-designation rates for Spanish speaking students would be lower than those for LEP students who spoke some other language. (By this time a little more than two years had passed, and I had also just been elected to the Anaheim City School District Board of Trustees. I'm still not sure why I ran for the elementary board. Perhaps it was my belief that education does not start in the seventh grade and that if I really wanted to get at the root of the problem, I would have to start at the beginning.)

My fellow board members (elementary school level) did not take kindly to the fact that I was constantly prodding them to look at the facts involved in this issue. After having gone over the most recent data in the R30-LC reports, I asked if staff could cull out information in regards to re-designations of limited-English students *by language*. I learned that this kind of data was not taken from the R30-LC reports, nor could it be done without some intensive work

by staff. My fellow board members felt that this would be a waste of staff time, and, as a board, they refused to have staff go any further in providing that information to me. Needless to say, I was quite disturbed by this failure to get at the truth of the matter.

In the Anaheim City School District there is a very strong preference for "native language" instruction for children from Spanish-speaking backgrounds. However, there are over forty other "native languages" spoken in the district, but all of those students are taught in English. I really wanted to know how well LEP students who spoke a language other than Spanish were doing as compared to our Spanish LEP students. For the moment, at least at the elementary school level, I was stymied.

At the high school level I got a very different response. I had just been voted in as the Board President and during one of my regular meetings with Dr. Janice Billings, the high school district Superintendent, I told her of my idea to separate out the non-Spanish speaking LEP students from the Spanish-speaking LEP students. I wanted to see what the re-designation rates were for other language groups. At the high school level we have over sixty languages spoken, and most of these students are taught in English. We do have significantly more Spanish-speaking LEP students, and there are a variety of strategies used for these students, including a very small contingent of classes that are taught exclusively in Spanish.

Within a couple of weeks, high school district staff provided me with a complete list of information, on a school by school basis, regarding the re-designation rates of students broken down by language. Again, I went back to my computer and began entering the data into my computer spread sheet program. I found just what I had expected to see. Students who spoke a language other than Spanish were being re-designated more rapidly than those whose home language was Spanish (see Tables 1–1.2).

In looking at the data, it was clear that students who spoke a language other than Spanish were progressing more rapidly in their knowledge of English. At the junior high level, students who spoke a language other than Spanish were 376 percent more likely to be re-designated as FEP. At the high school level that number dropped dramatically to only 122 percent. However, many LEP students had been in the programs for so long that no progress was being made, and they were being lost in the shuffle. Many LEP students were moving into alternative education programs because they could not deal with the demands of the comprehensive high school setting. There were many positives about the revelation of this data that made me very happy to be associ-

Table 1
Anaheim Union High School District: LEP Re-designations
(District Re-designations: Totals by Language)

	1 Total LEP	2 Number Redesignated	3 Percentage Redesignated	4 District Redesignation Total by Language	5 Percent of District LEP by Language	6 Weighted Average (WA)	7 Spanish vs. Other Language Redesignation
District	8206	681	8.30%	100.00%	100.00%	%L%R	WASpanish/ WALang
Spanish	6663	437	6.55%	64.10%	81.20%	1.2667	1.00
Vietnamese	487	76	15.52%	11.10%	5.93%	0.5347	2.37
Korean	251	35	13.84%	5.10%	3.06%	0.5998	2.11
Tagalog	144	31	21.28%	4.50%	1.75%	0.3900	3.25
Other	661	104	15.66%	15.20%	8.06%	0.5299	2.39
TTL Non-Spanish	1543	244	15.84%	35.90%	18.80%	0.5238	2.42

Table 1.1
High School Recap of Re-designations*

	1 Total LEP	2 Number Redesignated	3 Percentage Redesignated	4 District Redesignation Total by Language	5 Percent of District LEP by Language	6 Weighted Average (WA)	7 Spanish vs. Other Language Redesignation
Totals	4935	428	8.67%	100.00%	100.00%	%L%R	WASpanish WALang
Spanish	3593	294	8.18%	68.66%	72.81%	1.0604	1.00
Other than Spanish	1342	134	9.99%	31.34%	27.19%	0.8678	1.22

Table 1.2
Junior High School Recap of Re-designations

	1 Total LEP	2 Number Redesignated	3 Percentage Redesignated	4 District Redesignation Total by Language	5 Percent of District LEP by Language	6 Weighted Average (WA)	7 Spanish vs. Other Language Redesignation
Totals	3046	248	8.14	100.00%	100.00%	%L%R	WASpanish/ WALang
Spanish	2534	141	5.56%	56.85%	83.19%	1.4632	1.00
Other than Spanish	512	107	20.90%	43.15%	16.81%	0.3896	3.76

Notes: * Excluding Polaris & Hope Schools / 225 LEP students (special ed).
Columns #1 & #2 are self-explanatory. Column # 3 is derived by the formula: Column #2 / Column #1 to get the percentage; Column # 4 is derived by Language # in Column #2 / total number re-designated in Column #2; Column # 5 is derived by Language # in Column #1 / total number LEP; Column # 6 is derived by Column #5 / Column #4 to get a weighted average; and Column # 7 is derived by the weighted average of Spanish / weighted average of other language = ratio.

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ated with the Anaheim high school district. Assistant Superintendent Jock Fisher began to look even deeper than I had requested. He began making recommendations that would keep closer tabs on students and require a more stringent accountability standard for how data is collected and tracked, the end result being that by understanding this information the Board of Trustees could make adjustments to the educational program to obtain better academic results for our Spanish-speaking LEP students.

Looking at the junior high school data, I was concerned that the Spanish-speaking LEP students coming from the elementary schools in the districts were far behind other students. By this time I had been able to obtain information from the Anaheim City School District regarding the re-designation of students by language (I am precluded from revealing how I got this information).

Back at my trusty computer (by this time we were great friends, considering the time I was spending at the keyboard), I entered the data, and it also revealed a marked discrepancy between the re-designation of Spanish-speaking LEP students when compared to LEP students of other language backgrounds. On average, non-Spanish speaking LEP students were being redesignated at a rate 262 percent higher than those who spoke Spanish, as shown in Table 2.

Table 2
Anaheim City School District: LEP Re-designations
(District Re-designations: Totals by Language)

	1 Total LEP	2 Number Redesignated	3 Percentage Redesignated	4 District Redesignation Total by Language	5 Percent of District LEP by Language	6 Weighted Average (WA)	7 Spanish vs. Other Language Redesignation
District Wide	11833	975	8.24	100.00%	100.00%	%L*%R	**WASpanish WALang**
Spanish	11056	826	7.47%	84.72%	93.43%	1.1029	**1.00**
Vietnamese	323	57	17.65%	5.85%	2.73%	0.4669	**2.36**
Korean	54	15	27.78%	1.54%	0.46%	0.2966	**3.72**
Tagalog	63	9	14.29%	0.92%	0.53%	0.5768	**1.91**
Lao	55	10	18.18%	1.03%	0.46%	0.4532	**2.43**
Other TTL	282	61	21.63%	6.62%	2.38%	0.3809	**2.90**
Non-Spanish	777	152	19.56%	15.59%	6.57%	0.4212	**2.62**

Notes: Column #1: self-explanatory; Column #2: self-explanatory; Column #3: Column #2 / Column #1 to get percentage; Column #4: Language # in column #2 / Total Number Re-designated in Column #2, i.e. (826 / 975 = 84.72 percent); Column #5: Language # in column #1 / Total Number LEP, i.e. (11,056 / 11,833 = 93.43 percent); Column #6: Column #5 / column #4 to get a weighted average; and Column #7: Weighted average of Spanish / weighted average of other language = ratio.

This chart shows that if you are a LEP student in a language other than Spanish, you are 262 percent more likely to be redesignated than if you are a Spanish-speaking LEP child.

I was beginning to think I had found the Holy Grail. I had hard factual data that showed our educational programs were not working as well for Spanish-speaking children as they were for children who spoke other languages. I wanted to make sure that I had more evidence than just two school districts to support my conclusion, so I widened my inquiry to include those school districts that I had approached earlier.

I began by calling several board members of these districts and asked if they could help provide the R30-LC data for me separated out by language. What I got in return was a couple of phone calls saying that the districts did not look at that kind of data and that it was not available. They would, however, be happy to send me the R30-LC reports. Unfortunately, it is impossible to separate out the re-designations based solely on the information provided on the R30-LC report. Only the totals for all re-designations are provided, and there is no way to break out the re-designations by language. It does require staff to do a hand search of those who have been re-designated.

I then began calling district superintendents to see if I could interest them in a study of this information. Only one superintendent expressed any interest in this research. The others shunted me from one administrator to another. There was a great deal of reluctance to provide me with any information other than the R30-LC reports.

I wrote follow-up letters in which I revealed the information I had learned from my study of all the Anaheim district schools, K–12. The responses I got ranged from no answer at all to additional copies of the R30-LC reports being sent to me, "in the hope that this will provide the information I was looking for." I did get an interesting phone call from one particular district. The staff member who called me asked for a more detailed explanation of what I wanted because there was some confusion as to what I had requested. Upon explaining what I had been working on and what I was asking for, it became quite clear that the district had no intention of providing the information that I had requested. The staff member must have recalled my previous letters in regards to the "Freedom of Information Act" and struck a preemptive blow by stating, "...and since this is not a form that this district uses, we are not compelled by the 'Freedom of Information Act' to provide you with that information or to create any forms for you." I had spent over three months trying to get this information, and I was striking out.

Dr. Ronald N. Walter, the Superintendent of the Garden Grove Unified School District, was the only person to provide me with the information (presented in Table 3) I had requested. He also felt that this type of information would be

Table 3
Garden Grove Unified School District: LEP Re-designations
(District Re-designations: Totals by Language)
March 1997

	1 Total LEP	2 Number Redesignated	3 Percentage Redesignated	4 District Redesignation Total by Language	5 Percent of District LEP by Language	6 Weighted Average (WA)	7 Spanish vs. Other Language Redesignation
District Wide	20965	892	4.25%	100.00%	100.00%	%L%R	**WASpanish WALang**
Spanish	12569	288	2.29%	32.29%	59.95%	1.8569	**1.00**
Vietnamese	6629	468	7.06%	52.47%	31.62%	0.6027	**3.08**
Korean	449	50	11.14%	5.61%	2.14%	0.3821	**4.86**
Other	1339	86	6.42%	9.64%	6.39	0.6624	**2.80**
TTL Non-Spanish	8417	604	7.18%	67.71%	40.15%	0.5929	**3.13**

useful to examine to see what impact it might have on the instructional programs in his district.

Dr. Walter also sent information to me indicating that, "Of the above groups of LEP students, Spanish is the only group to receive instruction in their 'native language.'"

I have consistently found that Spanish-speaking students are being short-changed in learning English. What I find extremely difficult to deal with is the fact that most of the reasons for short-changing these students are political in nature. School Boards are too afraid of being called "racists" to deal with the facts of the situation. As I said earlier, I was happy to see the high school staff moving towards greater accountability on LEP student achievement, but the Board of Trustees refused to move forward with a change in the way we do business in regards to the teaching methods being used for LEP students. This is ironic because at that very same board meeting we had just received information that the district was below the fiftieth percentile in math and reading scores when compared with the rest of the nation. There were a number of lengthy speeches by board members outlining the needs for our district to be more accountable *"to change the way we do business."* However, not more than sixty minutes later, I proposed a significant way to "change the way we do business." I proposed that we change the way we teach Spanish-speaking LEP students, that we begin a special, all-English instruction program for this group. I couldn't even get a second on my motion. The Board felt that things were going well in this area and there was no need to make any changes. This was

decided even though they had been provided information showing that students of other languages were being re-designated more quickly than Spanish-speaking students. There was no inclination to make a change.

The elementary level school board has also failed to make any changes. There is political pressure from some of the local "native language" activists and there is little political will to face that storm of controversy.

The nature of the debate has never been about "facts"; it has always been one of culture. The argument is that to preserve the cultural heritage of Hispanics, it is important to make sure that they retain their language. It doesn't matter that by doing this they end up as second class citizens because they are unable to function fully in a mainly English language society. Repeatedly, anecdotal information about the few Spanish-speaking LEP students who succeed translated into a broad generalization of how all these students are doing. And no amount of "facts" can change that perception, especially among those who are blind to the truth.

School districts across this country, especially those in California, have forgotten that their second most important job, after the three R's, is to make good citizens of the students they have in their care. Through some misguided sense of politically correct guilt, schools have fallen prey to the need to be culturally sensitive to everyone else in the world. This is accomplished primarily through trying to teach people in their native language or in lowering standards for them. They have forgotten that foreigners have come to this country to become Americans.

We all know the stories told of the "ugly Americans" who visit other countries in the world and are insensitive to the language, customs and cultures they find there. Ask anyone you know the following question: "If you were going to live in another country for an extended period of time, if not permanently, do you believe that it would be your responsibility to learn the language and customs of that country?" Five will get you ten that the answer will be a resounding, "Yes." If that is true, and *the responsibility of learning the language and customs of another country lies with the newcomer*, why then should we not expect newcomers to the U.S. to learn the language and customs of the U.S.? This certainly applies to the teaching that goes on in our schools. We must, of course, treat each other with respect at all times, but that *never* means that American citizens must give up our cultural heritage so that others may retain theirs. For those newcomers who plan to live in this country for extended periods or permanently, it is essential that they become familiar with American culture, for their own best opportunities and for the benefit of the country at large. As we all know, learning the English language is the first step to becoming an American citizen.

It is time to look at the facts in regards to bilingual education and to turn a blind eye to political correctness. Spanish-speaking students are losing out in the educational race, and it is our fault. Standing up and doing the right thing, especially in the face of adversity, is one of the cornerstones of American culture.

Appendix A-1

Spring 1993

School District	A	B	C
Anaheim Elementary	8,651	287	3.32%
Anaheim Union High	8,133	424	5.21%
Brea-Olinda Unified	471	44	9.34%
Fullerton Elementary	2,634	128	4.86%
Garden Grove Unified	16,303	592	3.63%
La Habra City	1,664	130	7.81%
Magnolia Elementary	1,418	212	14.95%
Newport-Mesa Unified	4,042	143	3.54%
Orange Unified	6,089	294	4.83%
Placentia-Yorba Linda U.	3,091	97	3.14%
Santa Ana Unified	32,150	1,099	3.42%
Savanna Elementary	382	12	3.14%
TOTALS	85,028	3,462	4.07%

Notes: Column A = Total LEP Students; Column B = Total Re-designations; Column C = Percentage of LEP Students.

Appendix A-2

1994

School District	A	B	C
Anaheim Elementary	9,513	240	2.52%
Anaheim Union High	7,680	267	3.48%
Brea-Olinda Unified	550	36	6.55%
Fullerton Elementary	2,959	121	4.09%
Garden Grove Unified	17,856	631	3.53%
La Habra City	1,759	93	5.29%
Magnolia Elementary	1,704	157	9.21%
Newport-Mesa Unified	4,119	182	4.42%
Orange Unified	6,229	316	5.07%
Placentia-Yorba Linda U.	3,195	143	4.48%
Santa Ana Unified	33,541	980	2.92%
Savanna Elementary	496	15	3.20%
TOTALS	89,574	3,181	3.55%

Notes: Column A = Total LEP Students; Column B = Total Re-designations; Column C = Percentage of LEP Students.

Appendix A-3

Spring 1995

School District	A	B	C
Anaheim Elementary	10,320	331	3.21%
Anaheim Union High	7,344	714	9.72%
Brea-Olinda Unified	479	49	10.23%
Fullerton Elementary	3,181	126	3.96%
Garden Grove Unified	18,743	572	3.05%
La Habra City	1,881	122	6.49%
Magnolia Elementary	2,070	148	7.15%
Newport-Mesa Unified	4,284	120	2.80%
Orange Unified	6,596	413	6.26%
Placentia-Yorba Linda U.	3,296	94	2.85%
Santa Ana Unified	34,307	1,237	3.61%
Savanna Elementary	547	35	6.40%
TOTALS	93,048	3,961	4.26%

Notes: Column A = Total LEP Students; Column B = Total Re-designations; Column C = Percentage of LEP Students.

A California Teacher's Initiatives

Cathy Liska

There have been many changes in the Anaheim City School District since I began teaching there in the early 1970s, but none has been so detrimental as the proliferation of native language instruction across the district. While our limited-English students come from thirty different language backgrounds, only Spanish-speaking children are put in native language classes. The number of Limited-English Proficient (LEP) students has risen from 4,780 in 1987 to 11,101 in 1996, making 60 percent of the district's students LEP. As of 1997, 60 percent of those students in grades 1 and 2 and a little over 60 percent of all kindergarten students are receiving Spanish instruction. From Spring 1993 through Spring 1997, with the majority of the district's schools bilingual, the district's re-designation scores yielded only a 4.57 percent average success rate in turning Limited-English Proficient students into Fluent-English proficient students.

As a concerned teacher at John Marshall, one of the Anaheim elementary schools, I present this description of my efforts to promote changes and improvements for our language minority students and the largely unyielding resistance of the educational bureaucracy.

In 1996 there were fifteen native language programs and seven English immersion schools in the Anaheim district. In the district's English immersion schools, all students learn to read, write and spell in English, using native language support when necessary, with thirty minutes per day devoted to concentrated English as a Second Language (ESL) lessons. In the native language schools, Spanish-speaking students have thirty minutes per day of ESL also, but their reading, spelling, creative writing, and math lessons are in Spanish, sometimes taught by an Instructional Assistant. Devoting precious time to language arts in Spanish, the thirty minutes per day of English language learning is not nearly enough for English fluency, as the districts' disappointing re-designation rates clearly show. In addition, content area subjects, such as science and social studies, may be taught in Spanish if the instructor is bilingual. English-speaking students in native language schools have their lessons in English, creating a dual system within each classroom.

Of the ten schools most successful in qualifying students as "Fluent-English proficient" that year, five were English immersion schools. John Marshall was one of the five. In 1996, John Marshall was third in the district with a 13.57 percent success rate in promoting Limited-English Proficient students to Fluent-English Proficient students. In 1995, it was number one in the district on the California Test of Basic Skills (CTBS). This test measures reading comprehension, spelling, grammar, phonemic awareness and math—all in English. Clearly, our students were learning English quickly and effectively for academic work. Our principal attributed this to the fact that we had Gifted and Talented Education classes (GATE) at our school. This quite probably did affect the outcome somewhat. However, both GATE students and LEP students were tested.

In 1995, at the beginning of our new school year, John Marshall School was assigned a principal who began to lay the groundwork to convert our English immersion program to a program focused on native language instruction. During the first three weeks of school, teachers met and drafted a very positive letter supporting English immersion at our school because there was general anxiety that the decision to move to native language instruction was about to be made virtually without our input. Our new principal, in several informal conversations with individual staff members, had openly conveyed her intention to impose mostly Spanish language instruction as soon as possible. My colleagues who provide the day in, day out classroom instruction were dismayed that we would not be included in the planning of any major changes in our school program.

Several teachers volunteered to present our letter supporting the current English program to the principal, and she acknowledged receiving it at the faculty meeting the next day. However, she did not volunteer to discuss its contents, so the teachers pursued the topic of English immersion at John Marshall. Responding to a question from one teacher, the principal stated, "I cannot support staff in the present language arts program because I have only been at the school one month." A more spirited discussion followed, in which the teachers let her know how pleased we were with student progress and our reluctance to make major program changes. Finally, in order to end the discussion, the principal announced that any changes in the language arts program were not her decision, but "came from the Board of Education."

At a later date, the letter to our principal was read by one of our teachers at a School Board meeting, and John Marshall parents asked the Board to keep the English program. Todd Kaudy, a School Board member, then scolded our teachers because he felt the letter was an attack on our new principal. In substance, he told us that there would be serious repercussions if we did anything like that

again. Later, we teachers were criticized by two other school administrators at their faculty meetings and identified by one as "people with racist policies." John Marshall teachers felt very frustrated at hearing that they were being maligned by school administrators. We protested the ugly statement and demanded an apology in a letter signed by the entire staff. Finally, the offending person sent a letter virtually denying the whole incident ever took place.

During this period, I met with our Deputy Superintendent, Dr. Mary Ellen Blanton, to discuss some of my concerns. Dr. Blanton told me that she supported a return to native language instruction at our school because, "Your school is at fifty-one percent limited-English students." This was the only rationale she used. Apparently, Dr. Blanton did not acknowledge the significant gains in student achievement at our school through the existing program. She defended the new principal by saying, "In fairness to your principal I told her to let teachers know a change was coming." However, there had been no consultation with teaching staff, just a bald move to impose native language instruction, like it or not.

After the meeting with Dr. Blanton, I called School Board Member Todd Kaudy. He told me that the Board of Education had not authorized any change at our school, nor should Dr. Blanton have told the principal to let staff know "a change was coming." He further stated that he and another board member had gone to the new superintendent, Jack Sarnicky, to see if an alternative to native language instruction could be put in place district-wide. Mr. Kaudy made it clear that if our faculty felt strongly about the actions of the principal and Dr. Blanton, then we should go to the superintendent with our complaints and concerns.

I told our faculty what Mr. Kaudy had said, but we decided we had made our point and chose not to further involve ourselves in the furor already created by our support for the existing program. We believed we had squashed the program change for the time being, especially since parents in the neighborhood had circulated a petition showing support for English immersion at John Marshall.

At this point I made a personal decision to take actions beyond my own school. Thus began the bureaucratic nightmare of challenging a system that had become firmly entrenched in the Anaheim City School District but that had failed to work well for Spanish-speaking children. I began by networking with teachers at other schools in the district, conducting a straw poll to see how many teachers would respond favorably to a change from native language instruction to English immersion district-wide. I reasoned that if two School Board members had already approached the Superintendent on this topic, there might

be similar ideas among the other three board members. Perhaps some support from teachers would help them make a decision. The straw poll revealed that a little over 400 teachers out of approximately 650 wanted to see our present method of native language instruction changed. Even some native language teachers felt the program was doing little to help Spanish-speaking students become competent enough to do school work in English.

While talking with teachers, I learned of serious abuses. One teacher said that her school principal kept in her office the forms needed by parents whenever they wished to request that their children be placed in the English program. This was done so teachers could not have access to the forms. Two teachers were told that if they tried to place any children's names on the forms for English program choice she would "personally call and talk each and every parent out of it." This same school administrator informed a parent that her son had to be in native language instruction because "it's the law," although the mother's other two children had been in an English program. There were so many reports of questionable bilingual placement practices by administrators that I could hardly recognize the district in which I had started my teaching career back in 1971.

After sharing the information about the over four hundred teachers who wanted to see a change towards English instruction, a steering committee from our school composed of seven teachers and one parent met, and our grassroots group, *Successful Futures*, was born. We scheduled an informational meeting in September, which sixty people attended. We prepared excerpts from *The Little Hoover Commission's* 1993 report on bilingual education. The Little Hoover Commission is an independent California oversight agency whose mission is "to investigate state government operations and through reports, recommendations and legislative proposals, promote efficiency, economy and improved service." They had found great waste, as well as great failure in the thirty-year-old native language program in California.

As guest speakers, I invited Gloria Matta Tuchman and Sally Peterson. Tuchman, a teacher in Santa Ana, had run for State Superintendent of Public Instruction and testified numerous times before the legislature about the inadequacy of native language instruction. Peterson is founder of *Learning English Advocates Drive*. Both of these women are strong advocates of English immersion programs.

At the conclusion of the meeting, eight teachers volunteered to address the Board of Education with their concerns about native language instruction, in general, and questionable placement practices, in particular.

Before I addressed the board, I spoke with Barry Zolotar, one of the attorneys for the California Department of Education. Among other things, I related my experience of being told by a principal, "The district considers it coercion for teachers to inform parents about their right to choose English instruction for their children." Zolotar informed me that this restriction was "not defensible." In other words, the district's practice of not informing parents of their rights would be indefensible in a court of law.

In my address, I shared Mr. Zolotar's information about the indefensibility of the district's position on this point. I related a few of the examples of the questionable practices by school administrators I had learned about from teachers. These examples supported my contention that the only reason the district had parents meet with a school administrator was to talk the parents out of placing their children into English language classrooms and into Spanish language classrooms. Other teachers also shared their concerns and provided examples of experiences similar to mine. One particularly poignant statement came from Aline Hicks, a teacher at the Mann School. She described, in detail, three different instances when parents had tried, but failed, to place their children in English language instuction—each attempt had ended with the parents being told "permission denied." Her testimony illustrated concretely for the Board of Education that parents were not allowed to exercise their right of choice.

We expected the Board of Education to investigate and to rectify the problems. We were wrong. No action was taken by the Board other than to direct Superintendent Jack Sarnicky to "look into it."

During this same September, I sent a letter to Allan Keown, Deputy General Counsel for the California Department of Education. I described to him what had been going on in the district. I asked for a clarification on the voluntary nature of bilingual education. At the end of each month in October, November, and December I made calls to his office, asking for a response to my letter. Each time he put me off. When I called in January, 1996, I was told by Mr. Keown that he had forwarded my letter to Leroy Hamm of the Bilingual Compliance Division of the California Department of Education. Having received no reply from Mr. Hamm by the middle of January, I called him. He told me he had lost my letter because he had moved offices. I then sent him a duplicate letter. Ten days later I finally had a reply to my letter. In it, Mr. Keown stated in part, "The practices you describe in your letter, if factually accurate, could well be found to be coercive and thus violative of the voluntariness component of this state statute: i.e., Section 62002."

I also sent a letter to the U.S. Department of Education's Office of Civil Rights explaining this violation of parents' rights to choice of language instruction in our district. The OCR responded with the following statement:

> First, while you allege that teachers are not permitted to inform parents of an English-only program, you do not allege that parents are not so informed by other parties. Second, while you allege that District administrators may attempt to convince parents to place their children in special language classes, you do not allege that the special language classes fail to meet the educational needs of the students.

Actually, the OCR had missed my point—parents' rights were being violated because the district was not forthrightly informing them of their right to choose.

In February 1996, I visited with Roberta Thompson, the Director of Curriculum and Instruction for the Anaheim City School District. During this visit I learned that Superintendent Sarnicky had reminded school administrators at a principals' meeting that they were to let parents make the choice for English or Spanish without any persuasion on their part.

In March, I received a few calls from teachers who complained that parents were still being denied their right of choice. Also in March, I attended a meeting for parents held by the Compliance Review Board from the California Department of Education. The board had reviewed the special programs of the district, one of which was native language instruction. I had taken out an advertisement in the community's Spanish language newspaper, *The Excelsior*, to announce the meeting and encourage parents to voice their opinion about the native language program.

During the meeting, Harald Martin, a member of the Anaheim Union High School Board of Trustees, told the Compliance Review Board that he was glad the California Department of Education and the State Board of Education had gotten away from supporting native language instruction. In July 1995, the Superintendent of Public Instruction Delaine Eastin had announced two major policies on bilingual education:

1. The "preference" for primary language programs was removed, giving all school districts maximum choice in type of program; and
2. School districts were to be more diligent in recording evidence of student achievement.

However, the Compliance Review Board flatly denied that this was the case.

During the meeting, one of the Compliance Board members stated that native language instruction was a voluntary program. Hearing this, I raised my hand and said,

"If bilingual education is completely voluntary, then shouldn't the parent be able to make the choice of Spanish or English without pressure from a school administrator, and shouldn't teachers be allowed to inform parents of their rights?"

"Yes," she replied.

"Well," I continued, "I would suggest to you that this district has not allowed parents to make a free and clear choice for years."

"Then you need to file a complaint against your district," she said.

"I will," I heard myself saying.

Consequently, on April 3, 1996, I filed a formal complaint against the Anaheim City School District for their alleged violations of state and federal law. This complaint was based on the information I had received from teachers and from studying both Education Code 62002 and the Code of Regulations, Section 4308—"Parent Notification." I cited three areas of concern:

1. The school and district administrators have restricted teachers from informing parents of their right to waive bilingual education.
2. The district has allowed parents of English learners to be ignorant of their right to waive bilingual instruction.
3. District administrators have allowed/encouraged school administrators to counsel and persuade parents of English learners out of English and back into Spanish instruction, in spite of the fact that these parents brought a handwritten note to school asking for English instruction.

After I filed the complaint, I met with Dennis Roberson, the district's Title V Compliance Officer. He explained the procedure for mediation. He also told me that I should have an addendum to the complaint citing specific incidents, in case he or the mediator needed to do an investigation.

We agreed on a two-week period to complete the addendum. I knew that it would be very difficult to get teachers to join me, even though they had already told me about violations of parents' rights, harassment by school administrators, and threats of involuntary transfers because of the bilingual issue. As one teacher stated, "I'd like to give you an incident, but I'm the sole support of my family." Teachers had a great fear that if they spoke up, they might be fired. As another teacher told me, "I admire what you're doing, but be careful. These are very vindictive people." (She referred to the administration.)

Nevertheless, I began writing the addendum, citing incidents that I knew of personally. Then, I began calling some of the teachers who had addressed the board in September of 1995. To my surprise, when I explained that I had filed a formal complaint, most were willing to participate. Then the ripple effect began to take over, and other teachers joined us. In the end, twelve teachers, including myself, came forward with twenty-four incidents involving nine bilingual schools. Another half dozen school administrators were identified for directing teachers not to inform parents of their rights or for engaging in questionable bilingual placement practices themselves.

During this time, I sent a second letter to the DOE's Office of Civil Rights. My main question concerned the part of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 that "prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, color, and national origin in programs and activities that receive Federal financial assistance." I wrote, "Is it not a violation of these parents' civil rights to have their children placed in native language instruction, because they (the parents) are not informed of their rights about the voluntary nature of the program that is federally funded." Their response was virtually the same as the first time. They stated, in part, "OCR (Office of Civil Rights) reviews programs for LEP students to determine whether they are provided adequate access to the core curriculum in light of their linguistic needs." It seemed I could not make them understand.

As mediation drew near, Mr. Jeff Krivis, the mediator, told me to send the addendum to the Board of Education, which I did. I thought they would be so horrified to see what was going on in some of the schools that they would take immediate steps to remedy the situation. I asked for the dismissal and/or demotion of two of the top administrators involved. There was no response from the board.

Before the mediation occurred, I wanted to make sure I thoroughly understood the Education Code and the Code of Regulations about native language instruction, so I made a phone appointment with Edda Caraballo-Browne, one of the "Bilingual Compliance" people at the California Department of Education. In preparation, I had written questions so that I would not appear uninformed. To my surprise, as we spoke, I was giving her answers. I finally explained to her that the district was placing children in bilingual education without informing the parents of their rights prior to the enrollment of their children.

She said, "Well, all districts just place them."

"Yes, I replied, "but it's illegal."

Her only response was, "Well...."

She then asked, "Are you doing this [complaint/mediation] just to follow the law or to help the children?"

I said, "I thought if we followed the law it *would* help the children."

Our phone conversation came quickly to a close.

When it came time for mediation, the district would not let me have a union representative with me because they said that it was not a grievance, but a formal complaint. Fortunately, I had recently read an article in the *Wall Street Journal* by Patrick Manshardt, a staff attorney for the *Individual Rights Foundation* in Los Angeles. He had represented a teacher in a court case. I called him and after we talked for awhile he said he would go with me to the mediation.

At the beginning of the mediation Mr. Krivis laid out the ground rules. Then, Anaheim City School administrators and I had the opportunity to present our views.

The district's representatives, Dr. Blanton and Pam Ellis, the bilingual coordinator, stated that they and their committees had been very busy working on new letters and forms during this entire time period. Pam Ellis's exact statement was, "We are going to do more than is required of us because we want everyone to know their rights."

At one point Dr. Blanton said that there had been no directive given to school administrators to restrict teachers or to persuade parents not to request that their children be placed in English language classes.

"Well, someone told them to do it," I replied. "And if you give me a room down here [at district offices], a phone, a translator, and access to the parents' names, I'll find you four thousand parents this year alone who don't know their rights." (I had already calculated from the R30-LC forms that over a seven-year period approximately 12,852 students had been assigned to the district's native language program.)

There was complete silence at their end of the table. Not once did we see the addendum to the complaint; the only reference made to it came from Pam Ellis. She said that she had contacted the administrators involved, and they denied any of the incidents had happened. Neither my lawyer nor I responded to that statement.

Mr. Manshardt then pointed out that the district's BILP (Bilingual Instructional Learning Plan) form was inadequate in that it did not really inform parents of their right of choice. I was happy to hear him echo what I and other teachers had been saying all along.

After more discussion, the mediator had the administrators go to another room while he explained the next part to us. He explained that I was to decide what I expected the district to do to rectify the problems of student placement and communication with parents, and he would give this information to them. Then, he left to talk with the administrators. After he left the room, Mr. Manshardt turned to me and said, "I know when I'm being lied to." He was referring to the administration's efforts to make us think that they had been planning to redesign the forms in dispute.

My expectations from the district included the following items:

- A letter to be sent to all staff that explained *in detail* the rights of parents and teachers and made clear that no school administrator can deny these rights;
- The appointment of a liaison person (either a union representative or someone from the district) to whom teachers and/or parents could address any complaints about program assignments;
- A letter to be sent or given to parents *prior* to the enrollment of their child in school that described both the native language and the English immersion programs and informed them of their right of choice (in conformity to Code of Regs., Sec. 4308—Parent Notification); and lastly,
- A script to be prepared for teachers and school administrators, explaining the main features of the English immersion and the native language programs for those parents who had further questions.

When Mr. Krivis returned we reviewed these expectations, and he took my written copy to administration. When he returned, he said that administration didn't want to change the BILP form because they had just printed some. I told him that the district had their own in-house print shop and this should not be a problem. Then he said they weren't sure about the other forms and letters because they didn't know how the principals would react to them.

"Ask them who's running this district, them or the principals," my lawyer and I said almost simutaneously.

"We have an agreement," he said the next time he returned.

The following hour was spent hammering out a timeline. At the start of mediation, the administrators had acted as though the new paperwork was almost in place. Now, however, the hedging began about when these letters/forms could go into effect. My lawyer began to be impatient because he felt the administration was stalling.

At last, it was agreed that we would have a conference call on July 16, 1996, at

which time the administrators would report on the progress they were making in the four areas agreed upon.

"All we are trying to do is to get them to obey the law," Mr. Manshardt told me later. "Why is this so hard?"

During the July conference call the timeline was set. It was agreed that the letter to staff would be sent out on August 1, as well as a letter naming Dennis Roberson as the person to whom teachers and parents could go to for bilingual complaints. The form apprising parents of their rights would be ready by September 1. It would be retroactive to include those students who had already started school in July of 1996. This one time teachers would give the letter to parents at conference time. After that, it would be given to parents when they filled in the Home Language Survey at the office. It was also agreed that the script would be ready by September 1.

During the call, I asked if my lawyer and I could see each of these letters/forms. The administration agreed. It was gratifying to know that, once and for all, everyone would know their rights, including teachers.

By July 29, I was dissatisfied because neither I nor my lawyer had seen the letter the administration had agreed to send out to staff by August. I called Dr. Blanton's office to inquire. She informed me that I had already received the letter along with all other staff at the district in-service meeting held on Friday, July 26, 1996.

The letter she referred to only had one statement about a parent being able, by law, to withdraw a student from special program placement after submitting a written note to the principal. The rest of the letter was about the training of teachers and the monitoring and evaluation of students. This failed to address the bulk of what had been agreed upon during the mediation. I protested to Dr. Blanton, but to no avail. I called Jeff Krivis, the mediator; who had already received his copy. I told him of my concerns, but he was not sympathetic.

"What's wrong with the letter? You can't expect the district to do everything. They are bending over backwards for you," he said. "You're just trying to be a policeman for the district," he told me in the end.

I then wrote to Roberta Thompson, who had recently become Superintendent. I explained the mediation process, what had been agreed upon, and how I didn't feel her letter to staff expressed the intent of the mediation agreement. In a short handwritten note she responded, "I don't agree with all of your interpretations...."

Next, I waited for the letter naming Dennis Roberson as the bilingual complaint officer. It was never sent to my lawyer or me. Finally, it was posted on our teachers' lounge bulletin board the last week of August. It was dated August 1. Dennis Roberson was named in the letter, but there was no description of his true role. He was called "The Educational Hearing Practices Officer." The letter gave a general explanation of his duties, but nothing was said specifically about the bilingual program aspect.

In September 1996, when more teachers called me with seventeen violations of parents' rights, I told each one to get in touch with Dennis Roberson. Even though they had read the letter about him, they didn't know he was the person to call—proving my point that the letter was inadequate.

As for the next mediated form, "Parents' Rights and Appeals Procedures," once again neither my lawyer nor I were sent a copy. When a friend sent me a copy I discovered that the document had indeed been distributed in September, although the District Advisory Committee/Bilingual Advisory Committee didn't "okay" it until November. The wording of the document was unclear, using language that the average parent would not be familiar with, such as "specially designed academic instruction in English." As a parent who was present at the advisory committee meeting stated in written testimony at my appeal, "The parents involved didn't understand the content of this form. Then Pam Ellis said, 'They (the parents) would see other forms that would explain the process better.'" However, there were no "other forms" (except the "Parent Notification and Recommended Student Placement" form, which was also inadequate to explain the process). I believe this form was railroaded through because it had already been given out district-wide.

Then the mediated script was negated altogether. After waiting two months past the September 1 deadline to see it, I finally confronted Dr. Blanton, who said she would "check on it." In a few days I received a letter from her stating that the idea of the script had been scrapped because, as she wrote, "All processes have the potential for misuse. We feel that the new forms clearly communicate all required elements and are the least cumbersome for teachers to implement." Although I had included teachers as recipients of the script, my main intention was that it be used primarily by school administrators to keep them from attempting to persuade parents not to place their children in English instruction.

Even though I had conducted written interviews with several parents, none of them wished to come forward with their stories. A typical comment was that of a parent who said she would not speak out publicly because she had

heard stories of retaliation against children if their parents complained. There was little Patrick Manshardt could do for me as this last mediation puzzle piece was put into place.

Just after this, I wrote to the Office of Civil Rights for the third time. I included evidence from the addendum to prove to them that parents' rights had been violated. In June, I received their reply, which stated in part, "...OCR has made a determination that your allegations, even if true, do not violate any laws or regulations enforced by OCR. Since this is the third complaint you have made to OCR stating identical allegations, any other information you submit will be placed in the case file and OCR will have no further response."

I appealed the mediation to the California Department of Education, who then turned my appeal over to the Anaheim City School District for their response. On June 16, I received a letter from Dennis Roberson explaining that he was investigating my allegations of seventeen violations of parents' rights in September of 1996 and wanted the names of the parents. I told him that these parents were not the ones even mentioned in the addendum, and that I would not give him the names.

In July I received a hefty package from the district containing their response to my appeal, complete with exhibits. I read through it briefly and then left it on my desk for three days, knowing it would be futile to write a rebuttal; but I also knew that I should do so, just to bring a formal end to the process.

Finally, I wrote a five-page rebuttal of their decision complete with exhibits. Included in the exhibits was the written testimony of the parent earlier mentioned who is a member of the District Advisory Committee/Bilingual Advisory Committee. Also included were three written interviews I had conducted with parents whose rights had been violated. Among other things, I pointed out that if Dennis Roberson truly wanted to investigate allegations of violated rights, he should have investigated the parents mentioned in the addendum to the complaint. This was never done.

I asked the California Department of Education to allow us to go back to mediation to develop a clear "Parents' Rights and Appeals Procedures" form, a script for school administrators, and a new letter to all staff that explained the law in detail and made clear Dennis Roberson's true duties as it pertained to native language placement complaints.

On August 12, 1997, I received a response to my rebuttal from Allan Keown. "I do not see any legal basis," he wrote, "for it [the mediation agreement] to be

altered by the State Superintendent of Public Instruction. Hence, you should consider this letter to be the final administrative action under Title 5's Uniform Complaint Procedures. In other words, from our point of view, you have now exhausted all of your administrative remedies and should feel free, if you so choose, to take your complaint to the judicial system."

From September 1995 to the present, our group *Successful Futures* has grown to over seven hundred concerned Anaheim teachers, instructional assistants, other district employees, parents, and community members. We have adopted the following as our Mission Statement: *We believe in immersion with native language support for our English-learners and a strong ESL program.*

We send out a monthly Fact Sheet, giving recent data showing the failure of native language instruction and the success of English immersion programs. We have a monthly postcard campaign to inform the Anaheim City School Board that if they intend to continue their inadequate native language program, they need to provide English language classrooms for those who want this legally available option.

Our voices are being heard, and we *are* making a difference. At the September 9, 1997, School Board meeting Todd Kaudy, president of the Board, stated, "I am very concerned about the behavior of some employees." He then went on to state in substance that he thought the Board of Education needed to look into the possibility of English-only classrooms on certain tracks throughout the district. The rest of the Board of Education concurred with him. The only one who put obstacles in the way of doing it was Superintendent Roberta Thompson. In the end, she was directed by the Board of Education to look at the numbers and report back to them. For the first time, the Board is conducting workshops to study data on the performance of English learners in our district.

Unfortunately, at the December 8, 1997, school board meeting, the report from Pam Ellis and Sandra Barry, Deputy Superintendent, did not hold out much hope that the district was going to provide English-only classrooms. In the end, the statement from the district was, "Because each school's characteristics are unique and constantly changing, grouping within these options is best determined by the site principal and staff." So, unless concerned parents are willing to band together and go to each of the bilingual school sites to demand separate English-only classrooms for their children, the *status quo* will remain.

It will no doubt be a long road ahead to secure the full rights for our Spanish-speaking parents and children, to make the Board of Education enforce

the Education Code and the Code of Regulations, and to overhaul the district's inadequate native language program. However, I am confident that it can be done because *Successful Futures* is dedicated to the resolution of these issues.

A Fifty-State Survey of Requirements for the Education of Language Minority Children

Anita Garcia and Cynthia Morgan

Schools around the United States are now faced with educating a growing number of children who lack basic English skills. According to the National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education *Summary Report of the Survey of the States' Limited-English Proficient Students and Available Educational Programs and Services 1994–1995*, there are 2,437,723 Limited-English Proficient students in the U.S.[1] Only a few years ago, many schools had never dealt with a language minority child. Today, an increasing number of school districts enroll these children. The challenge of providing a quality education to all students is doubled when schools must also teach a child an entire new language as well as academic courses.

Over the last thirty years, elected officials, education agencies, and the courts have established guidelines for the education of these students. Federal requirements allow states a wide range of latitude in selecting the most effective programs for their limited-English proficient (LEP) students. Many states have enacted their own laws governing the management and style of programs for LEPs. These laws have been developed in cooperation with, or under coercion from, federal agencies and/or activist organizations. The result has been a patchwork of laws and regulations that can vary greatly from state to state.

This policy brief summarizes state requirements imposed on schools regarding the specific types of programs which must be offered to LEP students. It answers three basic questions. What programs are required? How many LEP students are there? How much funding is provided by the state for these students? It does not address state requirements regarding the identification or placement of LEP students or parental rights.

Federal law regarding LEP students is governed by a variety of legislative acts and court decisions. The first of these is Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which states that:

> No person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of,

> or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving federal financial assistance.

In 1974 Congress passed the Equal Educational Opportunity Act (EEOA), requiring schools to take "appropriate action" to overcome the language barriers of students who cannot speak English. That same year, the Supreme Court decided in *Lau v. Nichols* (1974) that school districts must assist LEP students through a program designed to meet their particular educational needs. The Court did not determine a particular program for schools to follow, instead recommending a variety of approaches. *Lau* gave districts the opportunity to choose between bilingual education, English as a Second Language (ESL), and other programs which appropriately assist students. Under federal law, every LEP student must receive specialized instructional services.

Since the Equal Educational Opportunity Act did not define what "appropriate actions" are, the decision by the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit, in *Castaneda v. Pickard* (1981) established a three-pronged test to determine the meaning of "appropriate action." First, any program must be based upon an accepted educational or experimental theory. Second, the school's implementation must be consistent with the chosen educational theory. This relates to the individual school's "genuine and good faith efforts, consistent with local circumstances and resources."[2] Lastly, the program must produce results in terms of whether language barriers are being overcome.

Our summary of state laws and regulations does not include recommendations for LEP programs because there is no way to know if the suggestions are followed and they are not enforceable by law. There are generally two types of programs adopted by schools for assisting LEP students: Bilingual Education and English as a Second Language or English for Speakers of Other Languages. Bilingual Education uses native language instruction while English as a Second Language (ESL) and English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) focus on instruction in English.

STATE REQUIREMENTS

States which Mandate Bilingual Education (11)
Alaska, California, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Texas, Washington, Wisconsin

States which Forbid Bilingual Education (3)
Arkansas, Delaware, Nebraska

Non-Program States with Specific Laws for LEP Programs (25)
Arizona, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Hawaii, Idaho, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Maryland, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Mexico, North Carolina, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Utah, Virginia

States with No Laws Regarding LEP Programs (11)
Alabama, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Montana, North Dakota, South Carolina, South Dakota, Vermont, West Virginia, Wyoming

States which Fund all LEP Programs (28)
Alabama, Alaska, Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Hawaii, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Jersey, New York, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Rhode Island, Texas, Utah, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin

States which only Fund Bilingual Education Programs (2)
Michigan, New Mexico

States which only Fund Non-Bilingual Education Programs (1)
Virginia

States with No Funding for LEP Programs (19)
Delaware, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, New Hampshire, North Carolina, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Utah, Wyoming

A State by State Summary

Alabama

Contact: Diane Courtney, Education Specialist (334) 242–9700.

Requirements: Alabama has no mandate.

Funding: State code allocates separate funds for assistance programs of $100 per student.[3] These programs are designed for students termed "at–risk" by performing below State Board of Education standards. There are 3,502 LEP students, who are eligible for the "at–risk" funding.

Alaska

Contact: Anne Kessler, Alaska Department of Education (907) 465–8716.

Requirements: Bilingual/Bicultural education is mandated for every school district which has eight or more LEP students, or even students who are En-

glish proficient but can speak another language, of any one language in any one school.[4] Districts may apply for a waiver from these requirements.

Funding: There are 29,929 LEP students in Alaska receiving $20,641,401.

Arizona

Contact: Nancy Mendoza, Deputy Associate Superintendent, Bilingual Migrant and Indian Education, Legislative Liaison (602) 542–3204.

Requirements: State statutes require all schools to provide either a bilingual or an ESL program for each LEP student.[5]

Funding: There are 98,128 LEP students receiving $14,341,881 (note: all programs for LEP students are eligible for funding).

Arkansas

Contact: Andre Guerro, State Director of Language Minority Students (501) 682–4213.

Requirements: Arkansas has no mandate. State law requires all courses to be taught in English, "Any person violating the provisions hereof shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction shall be fined not to exceed twenty–five dollars, payable into the general school fund of the county."[6,7] However, school districts are allowed to establish ESL programs.

Funding: There are 5,500 LEP students, receiving $6 million allotted biannually in the last session of the state legislature, 1995.

California

Contact: Leroy Hamm, Complaints Management and Bilingual Compliance Unit (916) 657–3699.

Requirements: The California statutes mandating bilingual education were allowed to sunset on June 30, 1987. The Legislature continued funding programs and under the state's interpretation, all California schools must offer bilingual learning opportunities to every LEP student. ESL programs are allowed only in certain circumstances. Schools having at least ten LEP students who speak the same language must provide a bilingual program.

Funding: There are 1,262,982 LEP students who receive an estimated $300 million in state funding[8] (note: districts which are not in compliance with the bilingual mandate can lose this funding).

Colorado

Contact: Dr. Roger Martinez, State Bilingual Coordinator, Colorado Department of Education (303) 866–6771.

Requirements: Colorado statutes require that instruction in public schools be conducted in English with the exception of LEP transitional programs which may be bilingual education or ESL and are required under Colorado's English Language Proficiency Act.[9] The Denver School District Consent Decree requires the creation of a bilingual education program.[10] The criteria for these programs is based on the number of LEP students in separate categories for the individual schools. Grades K–6, which have seventy or more LEP students; grades K–3, which have forty or more LEP students; and K, 4–6 which have thirty or more LEP students must establish bilingual programs.

Funding: There are 24,247 LEP students, and the state provides funding which may not exceed $400 per year per student for up to two years. The total state funding for LEP students for 1995–1996 was $2.6 million.

Connecticut

Contact: George DeGeorge, Bilingual Education Consultant (860) 566–2169.

Requirements: Under State statutes any school or school district with twenty or more LEP students who speak any one language must provide a bilingual education program.[11]

Funding: There are 20,392 LEP students, receiving $2.26 million.

Delaware

Contact: Sister Margie Loveland, Education Specialist Bilingual/ESL Programs, Delaware Department of Education (302) 739–2770.

Requirements: There are no statutes or regulations. However, by law, English is the language of instruction.[12] State Board of Education policy recommendations call for either bilingual or ESL programs for LEP students.

Funding: There are 1,625 LEP students. There is no state funding.

Florida

Contact: Bernardo A. Garcia, Director Office of Multicultural Student Language Education (904) 487–8533.

Requirements: State statutes require that either a bilingual or an ESOL program be provided if there are at least fifteen students who speak the same language in a school. They must have access to a teacher who is proficient in their native language in addition to a trained ESOL teacher.[13]

Funding: There are 153,841 LEP students receiving $ 373.5 million for LEP programs.

Georgia

Contact: Beth Arnow, Migrant/ESOL Programs Coordinator, Georgia Department of Education (404) 656–4495.

Requirements: State law requires schools to provide LEP student programs, designed to develop both the necessary English skills and American culture concepts for participation in regular English classroom instruction.[14]

Funding: There are 15, 277 LEP students. There is no state funding.

Hawaii

Contact: Dr. Alan Ramos (808) 733–4495.

Requirements: Hawaii administrative education rules forbid discrimination on the basis of national origin or race.[15] This has been interpreted to mean that language minority students must receive special services. Both ESL and bilingual education programs are allowed.

Funding: There are 12,186 LEP students, receiving $7 million in state funding.

Idaho

Contact: Irene Chavolla, Migrant Coordinator (208) 332–6907.

Requirements: State law requires English to be the language of instruction.[16] However, transitional programs may be provided for students who do not speak English in their homes. A consent decree requires a uniform, comprehensive and appropriate program statewide.[17]

Funding: There are 13,188 LEP students, receiving $2.25 million in state funding.

Illinois

Contact: Rene Valenciano, Illinois State Board of Education (314)814–3986.

Requirements: All LEP students must be served by either a transitional bilingual education program or a transitional program of instruction.[18] Any school that has twenty or more LEP students of a single language group must establish a transitional bilingual education program.[19] Any school with fewer than twenty LEP students of a particular language group may institute a bilingual program but must at the minimum institute a transitional program of instruction.[20]

Funding: Illinois provides $55.5 million in state funding for its transitional programs of instruction and transitional bilingual education programs. Illinois has 107,084 LEP students.

Indiana

Contact: Darlene Slaby, Director Language and Minority Programs (317) 232–0555.

Requirements: State statutes require school districts to provide bilingual–bicultural programs for those students whose native language is not English, who speak a language other than English more often, or who live in a home where the language most often spoken is not English.[21] The goal of the pro-

gram is to assist students in reaching their full academic achievement and to preserve an awareness of cultural and linguistic heritage.

Funding: There are 6,293 LEP students. There is no state funding.

Iowa

Contact: Dan Chavez, Bilingual/ESL and Grant Management Consultant (515) 281–3805.

Requirements: There is no mandate. Iowa code allows for transitional bilingual and/or ESL programs.[22]

Funding: There are 8,000 LEP students in Iowa. State funding is $4 million per year. There is a three year limit per student for program enrollment.

Kansas

Contact: Kimberley Kreiker, ESOL/Bilingual Migrant and Indian Education Program Consultant (913) 296–7929.

Requirements: State law requires schools to establish programs for LEP students which integrate them into the regular educational programs and are taught by qualified teachers, as determined by the state board.[23] Schools are allowed to employ measures such as entering into a multi-district arrangement to share the costs of the program. An advisory board is established by the state board to provide technical assistance to the school districts.

Funding: There are 12,050 LEP students, who received $4.2 million in 1996.

Kentucky

Contact: Nancy LaCount, Branch Manager Instructional Strategies (502) 564–2672.

Requirements: There are no statutes or regulations.

Funding: There are 2,774 LEP students. There is no state funding.

Louisiana

Contact: Sally M. Tyler, Education Program Specialist, Bilingual Education/ESOL, State of Louisiana Department of Education (504) 342–3454.

Requirements: There are no statutes or regulations.[24]

Funding: There are 6,448 LEP students. There is no state funding.

Maine

Contact: Dr. Barney Berube, Department of Education, Bilingual Education, English as a Second Language (207) 287–5984.

Requirements: State law requires English to be the language of instruction, but allows for bilingual or ESL programs for LEP students.[25] The program

must provide transitional language support services to aid in the acquisition of communicative and academic English skills.

Funding: There are 2,360 LEP students. There is no state funding.

Maryland

Contact: Jill Bayse, Specialist in Foreign and Second Language Learning, Maryland State Department of Education (410) 767–0344.

Requirements: State law establishes guidelines for creating both bilingual and ESL programs.[26] Each school is required to establish either an ESL or bilingual education program for students identified as LEP through the home language survey as well as an assessment of English listening, speaking, reading, and writing skills.

Funding: There are 15,250 LEP students. The state provides $500 for two years per student in the form of grants.[27]

Massachusetts

Contact: Tony Delorenzo, Massachusetts Department of Education (617) 388–3300.

Requirements: Any school district with twenty or more LEP students of any grade level and of a particular language group must offer a program of transitional bilingual education for the students.[28] No school may place LEP children of different language backgrounds in the same bilingual program without the approval of the state Department of Education.[29] Bilingual education programs may include English proficient children.[30] Multi-grade classrooms are allowed, but the age spread between students cannot exceed four years, except for kindergarten, in which case the age spread cannot exceed one year.[31] Additionally, the state Board of Education may, upon petition from a school committee, waive any of these requirements in a particular school district for such a time as is necessary to avoid undue hardship to that district.[32]

Funding: Massachusetts has 44,211 LEP students. The state does provide funding for bilingual programs but it is included in general support and is not restricted. Nicholas Fischer of the state Department of Education estimates that the State provides $110 million for bilingual programs.

Michigan

Contact: Jesus Solis, Office of Equity and Bilingual Education (517) 373–4580.

Requirements: Michigan no longer mandates bilingual instruction for LEP students. Schools are required to provide either ESL or bilingual programs, but only bilingual programs receive state funding.[33]

Funding: There are 45,163 LEP students. The allocation of funds is based on LEP student enrollment, and is not to exceed $4.2 million for 1995–1996.

Minnesota

Contact: Joyce Biagini (612) 296–6104.

Requirements: The state does not require either a bilingual or an ESL program, but any district with either program is required, by the statutes, to prevent LEP student isolation for any substantial part of the school day and to facilitate their integration into non-verbal subjects such as art, music, and physical education.[34]

Funding: There are 2,500 LEP students, receiving $15 million for 1995–1996.

Mississippi

Contact: Dr. Ada Belton, Coordinator, Bilingual Education (601) 359–3513.

Requirements: There are no state regulations.

Funding: There are 2,808 LEP students. There is no state funding.

Missouri

Contact: Dr. Joel Judd, Supervisor, Title VII Programs, Missouri Department of Elementary and Secondary Education (573) 751–8281.

Requirements: State statutes provide for the creation of programs for students who are at-risk of dropping out of school. Bilingual and ESL programs are included under this provision to address the specific needs of LEP students.[35]

Funding: There are 6,053 LEP students. There is no state funding.

Montana

Contact: Lynn Hinch, Bilingual Education Specialist (406) 444–3095.

Requirements: There is no mandate.

Funding: There are 8,268 LEP students. There is no state funding.

Nebraska

Contact: Nancy Rowch, Nebraska Department of Education (402) 471–2295.

Requirements: Nebraska has no state statutes or regulations concerning LEP students or bilingual education programs. State law requires that students be taught in English.[36]

Funding: The Nebraska legislature passed a bill in the first session of 1997, which provides LEP students with 25 percent more funding than other students.[37] There are 3,865 LEP students in Nebraska.

Nevada

Contact: Mary L. Peterson, Superintendent of Public Instruction, Nevada Department of Education (702) 687–9200.

Requirements: Nevada's revised state statutes require the state Board of Education to establish a program to assist LEP students.[38] The Board has adopted regulations which endorse both ESL and Bilingual instruction programs.

Funding: Nevada provides no state funding for its 23,318 LEP students.

New Hampshire

Contact: Christine Noon, New Hampshire Department of Education (603) 271–3494.

Requirements: New Hampshire has various policies included in each district's compliance plan, which must be individually approved by the Bureau of Equality at the New Hampshire Department of Education.[39] New Hampshire largely uses the ESL programs for their LEP students, however, bilingual education programs are permitted.[40]

Funding: The state provides $100,000 a year for LEP programs. There are 1,084 LEP students in New Hampshire.

New Jersey

Contact: Linda Carmona-Bell, Office of Bilingual Education and Equity Issues, State of New Jersey Department of Education (609) 292–1211.

Requirements: Any school district in New Jersey with twenty or more LEP students of any one language group is required to establish a bilingual education program.[41] This requirement may be waived if a school district can establish that due to the age range, geographic location, or grade span of the LEP students, a full-time bilingual program would be impractical.[42] The school district would still be required to implement a special alternative instructional program to serve these students.[43] School districts with fewer than ten LEP students must provide services to improve the English language proficiency of those students.[44] When there are more than ten LEP students within a school district, the district must establish an ESL program.[45] All LEP students must be enrolled in one of the above programs and may be placed in regular English monolingual classes when they are ready to function in such a program.[46] In addition, schools are not required to provide bilingual education to individual students for more than three years.[47]

Funding: New Jersey has 48,582 LEP students for which the state provided $57.4 million in the 1997–1998 school year.

New Mexico

Contact: Lupe M. Castillo, Coordinator Title VII, ESEA, Bilingual Education New Mexico Department of Education (505) 827–6566.

Requirements: New Mexico state law establishes bilingual education programs as a local option, not a mandate. However, only bilingual programs can re-

ceive state funds.[48] All state programs for English learners must be reviewed at regular intervals by the School Board, the State Department of Education, and a required parent advisory board.[49] This evaluation should include students' achievement in English and in the home language.[50]

Funding: New Mexico has 80,850 LEP students for which the state allocated approximately $35 million in the 1996–1997 school year.

New York

Contact: Carmen Perez Hogan, Coordinator of Office of Bilingual Education, State Department of Education (518) 474–8775.

Requirements: Each school district receiving state funds for programs for English learners, which has twenty or more LEP students in the same grade level assigned to a building with the same native language, must have a bilingual education program.[51] New York schools may not keep children in programs for English learners for more than three years, but the state Commissioner of Education may extend that period with respect to individual students for up to six years total.[52] Additionally, all LEP students' proficiency in English must be measured annually to determine if the student should remain in the program.[53]

Funding: New York has 210,198 LEP students for which the state provides $57 million in funding.

North Carolina

Contact: Jane S. Cowan, ESL Consultant, North Carolina Department of Public Instruction (919) 715–1796.

Requirements: The North Carolina Department of Public Instruction requires that each school district adopt a program for LEP students. North Carolina requires that these programs be ESL, bilingual education, or other programs which meet the needs of the students.[54]

Funding: There is no categorical funding for LEP students. There are 14,881 LEP students in North Carolina.

North Dakota

Contact: Mari B. Rasmussen, Coordinator, Bilingual Education, North Dakota Department Public Instruction (701) 328–2958.

Requirements: North Dakota has no laws or regulations regarding LEP students.

Funding: North Dakota's fifty-fifth legislative assembly approved a bill which would provide $300 for each student who has been tested and recognized by the student's school district as having limited English language skills.[55] The funding for LEP students may be granted up to the sum of $150,000 per year for a two year period. There are 5,616 LEP students in North Dakota.

Ohio

Contact: Dan Fleck, Ph.D., Educational Consultant, Ohio Department of Education—Lau Resource Center for English as a Second Language, Bilingual, and Multicultural Education (614) 466–3641.

Requirements: The Ohio Department of Education does not mandate that school districts use a particular approach to assist LEP students. The only mandate is that schools with a bilingual education program have one certified bilingual teacher for every twenty-five students.[56] ESL Programs are also used in addition to structured immersion and tutoring.

Funding: There are 11,343 LEP students present in Ohio, for which Ohio has no specific funding.

Oklahoma

Contact: Dr. Van Anderson, Oklahoma State Department of Education (405) 521–3301.

Requirements: The Oklahoma Attorney General ruled in 1975 that schools must "make remedial efforts by providing bilingual classes or otherwise as necessary to meet the linguistic needs of pupils who enter school unable to speak and understand the English language."[57] English is still considered the basic language of instruction in Oklahoma, but other languages may be used to instruct students.

Funding: Oklahoma provides an additional 25 percent of state funding per child, for students who are gifted or are in need of special education. This includes their 31,561 LEP students.

Oregon

Contact: Merced Flores, Associate Superintendent Compensatory Programs and Student Services, Oregon Department of Education (503) 378–3569, ext.675.

Requirements: Oregon doesn't require any specific programs for LEP students, but state law permits bilingual instruction for students "who are unable to profit from classes taught in English."[58] Special courses are offered until students can benefit from classes taught solely in English.

Funding: Oregon has 25,701 LEP students. There is no state funding.

Pennsylvania

Contact: Myrna Delgado, Pennsylvania Department of Education (717) 787–1890.

Requirements: Pennsylvania has no state laws concerning bilingual education or LEP programs. However, one curriculum regulation exists which states that every school district shall provide a program for each student whose domi-

nant language is not English so that they may obtain English proficiency. Programs must be either bilingual-bicultural or ESL instruction.[59]

Funding: Pennsylvania has 19,861 LEP students for which no state funding has been established.

Rhode Island

Contact: Maria Lindia, Rhode Island Department of Education (401) 277–4600.

Requirements: Each district is required to design a program to assist its LEP students.[60] Most districts have chosen ESL programs. No other mandates or regulations exist in Rhode Island.

Funding: Rhode Island has 8,643 students for which the state allocates $1.4 million. The Providence district, an urban area with the highest concentration of LEP students, provides an additional $250,000 of local funding.

South Carolina

Contact: Jaqui Asbury, South Carolina Department of Education (803) 734–8500.

Requirements: South Carolina has no statutes or regulations regarding education of LEP students.

Funding: South Carolina has no state funding for its 1,826 LEP students.

South Dakota

Contact: Margo Heinert, South Dakota Department of Education and Cultural Affairs (605) 773–3282.

Requirements: South Dakota has no state laws or regulations for programs for LEP students.

Funding: South Dakota has 4,630 LEP students in public schools and provides no specific state funding.

Tennessee

Contact: Julie P. McCargar, Director, Equity and Excellence, Tennessee Department of Education (615) 532–6245.

Requirements: Tennessee passed a Civil Rights Act in 1964 at the state level, which was amended in 1995 by Chapter 381 of the Public Acts. The Act makes each district responsible for designing its own LEP program, having its resources effectively implemented, and proving its program is effective or under modification by regular evaluations. English as a Second Language programs are endorsed and are to be taught by ESL certified teachers. Furthermore, if the programs are not available in the student's home school, the district must provide transportation to a place where services are offered.

Funding: No state funding is provided for Tennessee's 4,002 LEP students.

Texas

Contact: Maria Seidner, Director of Bilingual Education, Texas Education Agency (512) 463–9551.

Requirements: State statutes require school districts with twenty or more limited English proficient students in the same grade level "in any language classification" to establish a bilingual program. This mandate only applies to grades K through 6. LEP students in higher grades must be provided with either a bilingual or an ESL program.

Funding: There are 454,883 LEP students who received $111 million last year.

Utah

Contact: Kathy Akin, Utah State Office of Education (801) 538–7830.

Requirements: Utah state statutes require all school districts to implement programs for LEP students. These can be bilingual, or ESL, or another established alternative.[61] The San Juan County School District and the Navajo Nation entered into a consent decree which requires the district to establish a bilingual education committee to review the existing bilingual education program.[62] The committee must determine whether to accept, improve, or expand the bilingual program. The school district relies on this new decision since it replaces the 1975 Agreement and Consent Decree.

Funding: Utah's state funding for LEP programs has fluctuated from $3.6 million in the 1996–1997 schools year to $2.3 million for the 1997–1998 school year. There are 21,360 LEP students in Utah.

Vermont

Contact: Jim McCobb, Rural Education Center (802) 658–6342.

Requirements: Vermont has no state laws or regulations for the implementation of programs for its LEP students.

Funding: Vermont offers no state funding for its 869 LEP students.

Virginia

Contact: David E. Cox, Specialist, Foreign Languages/ESL, Virginia Department of Education–Division of Instruction (804) 225–2593.

Requirements: Virginia state law mandates instruction in English that is designed to enhance the education of students for whom English is a second language. The state regulates that programs for LEP students "should include a means of identification, assessment, and placement in an appropriate education program."[63]

Funding: Virginia requires that its state funding of $2.5 million be used only for ESL programs.[64] Virginia has 16,290 LEP students.[65]

Washington

Contact: Roger Barron, Program Supervisor, Bilingual/Migrant Instructional Support Services (360) 753–2573.

Requirements: Each school district Board of Directors must make available a transitional bilingual instruction program or an alternative instructional program, if the bilingual program isn't feasible. ESL programs qualify under alternative instructional programs. The programs are to last no more than three years with the majority of funding being focused on the early elementary years.[66] However, if a student is unable to demonstrate acceptable improvement, then he or she may remain in the bilingual or alternative instruction program.

Funding: Washington has 50,987 LEP students and provides $27 million for the transitional bilingual or state approved alternative instructional programs.

West Virginia

Contact: Amelia Davis, Project Director, ESL, West Virginia Department of Education (304) 558–2691.

Requirements: West Virginia has no state statutes or regulations referring to the education of LEP students.

Funding: West Virginia has approximately 3,000 LEP students. Each district is in charge of identifying and assisting its LEP students.[67] State funding is $100,000 per year.

Wisconsin

Contact: Tim Boals, Consultant-Bilingual/ESL Education Program, Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction (608) 266–5469.

Requirements: Wisconsin state law requires bilingual-bicultural education programs for each language group, if there are ten or more limited-English speaking students in kindergarten to grade 3, or twenty or more LEP students in grades 4 through 12. These students are to be taught by bilingual teachers with bilingual counselors made available to high school students. However, if bilingual teachers aren't available, the program may be taught by certified teachers of ESL upon approval by the state superintendent.

Funding: Wisconsin allocates $8.3 million of state funding for the implementation of programs for its 20,541 LEP students.

Wyoming

Contact: Paul Soumokil, Wyoming Department of Education (307) 777–7673.

Requirements: Wyoming has no state statutes or regulations dealing with the education of its LEP students.

Funding: Wyoming offers no state funding for its 1,791 LEP students.

NOTES

1. *Summary Report of the Survey of the States; Limited English Proficient Students and Available Educational Services 1994-1995.* Tables 2.1 and 4.2. Reynaldo F. Macias and Candace Kelly. National Clearing House for Bilingual Education: The George Washington University, 1996. (All individual state figures of LEP students from this point forward come from Table 2.1, except West Virginia and Virginia, which were not included on the table.)
2. *Teresa P.*, Id., 714 citing Castaneda, Id., 1009.
3. Alabama State Code 16-6B-3, 1975.
4. Alaska Annotated Codes, Education, 4 AAC 34.010 to 4 AAC 34.090.
5. Arizona Revised Statutes, Annotated, 15-752 (B).
6. Arkansas State Code 1-4-117, 1931.
7. Arkansas State Code 6-16-104, 1996.
8. "Latino activists sue Calif. educators for bilingual education," *Washington Times*, August 11, 1997.
9. Colorado State Statutes, 22-1-103, 1988.
10. Wilfred Keyes, et al. V. Congress of Hispanic Educators, et al. V. School District No. 1, Denver, Colorado, et al., 1984.
11. Connecticut General Statutes, Annotated, Volume 5A, section 10-17f.
12. Delaware Code, Annotated, Volume 8, 14, Sec.122(b)(5).
13. Florida Statutes, Annotated, Chapter 233.058(3)(D).
14. Georgia State Code 20-2-156, 1996.
15. Hawaii AR, Title 8, Subtitle 2, Part 1, Chapter 41, Civil Rights Complaint Procedures.
16. Idaho Code 33-1601, 1980.
17. Idaho Migrant Council v. Board of Education 79-1068.
18. Illinois Revised Statutes, Chapter 105, Section 5/14C-3.
19. Illinois Revised Statutes, Chapter 105, Section 5/14C-3.
20. Illinois Revised Statutes, Chapter 105, Section 5/14C-3.

21. Indiana State Statutes, 20-10.1-5.5-1.5, 1991.

22. Iowa Code 280.4, 1993.

23. Kansas State Statutes, 75-9501 to 75-9510, 1992.

24. Louisiana State Statutes, 16:1 to 17:410, 1994.

25. Maine State Statutes, 20-A-4701, 1964.

26. Maryland State Senate Bill 720 II-C-1, 1994.

27. Maryland State Senate Bill 720, 1994.

28. Massachusetts General Laws, Annotated, Chapter 71A, Section 2.

29. Transitional Bilingual Education Regulations, 603 CMR 14.00, Section 14.03 (10).

30. Transitional Bilingual Education Regulations, 603 CMR 14.00, Section 14.08.

31. Transitional Bilingual Education Regulations, 603 CMR. 14.00, Section 14.05 (7).

32. Transitional Bilingual Education Regulations, 603 CMR. 14.00, Section 14.12.

33. Michigan State Statutes, 15.1-15.2085(24), 1996.

34. Minnesota State Statutes, 124 to126B.

35. Missouri School Policy, 8.1 E, *English for Speakers of Other Languages.*

36. Nebraska Constitution, Article I, Sec. 27.

37. Legislature of Nebraska, Ninety-Fifth Legislature, First Session. *Legislative Bill 806*, Final Reading, p. 67, lines 20-24. First read Jan 22, 1997.

38. Nevada Revised Statutes, 388.405.

39. *Equal Education Access for Students with Limited English Proficiency: A Compliance Guide.* P.1,6/ Suzanne Irujo, Education Division of Program Support. Bureau of Equity.

40. New Hampshire Revised Statutes, Annotated. Titles 15, 16 Chapter 189.19 p.143. Equity Publishing Company: Oxford, NH. 1984 Replacement Edition.

41. New Jersey Statutes, Annotated, Section 18A:35-18 (A).

42. New Jersey Statutes, Annotated, Section 18A:35-18 (B).

43. New Jersey Statutes, Annotated, Section 18A:35-18 (B).

44. New Jersey Administrative Code, Title 6, Section 6:31-1.4 (A).

45. New Jersey Administrative Code, Title 6, Section 6:31-1.4 (B).

46. New Jersey Administrative Code, Title 6, Section 6:31-1.4 (A) (B).

47. New Jersey Statutes, Annotated, Section 18A:35-19.

48. New Mexico Statutes, Annotated, Section 22-23-6. New Mexico State Department of Education: Guidelines for Compliance, Federal and State Law. P. 11 (1994–1995).

49. New Mexico Statutes, Annotated, Section 22-23-5.

50. New Mexico Bilingual Education Regulations, No. 75-19, VIII.

51. New York Education, Section 3204 (2-A); Commissioner's Regulations Part 154.5 (B) (1).

52. New York Education, Section 3204 (2).

53. New York Education, Section 3204 (3).

54. 16 NCAC Subchapter 6D- Instruction. 0106.

55. Reengrossed Senate Bill No. 2029. Fifty-Fifth Legislative Assembly of North Dakota.

56. Ohio Revised Code, Standard 3301-36-01.

57. Opinion 75-231. Issued Oct. 2, 1975.

58. Oregon Revised Statutes, 1995 Edition. 336.074 - 336.075.

59. Pennsylvania Code, Chap. 5, Sec. 5.216. ESOL.

60. General Laws of Rhode Island. Vol. 3B. 16-54-1,2,3,4,5. Michie Law Publishers: Charlottesville, Reenactment of 1996.

61. R277-716. Alternative Language Services.

62. 1997 Agreement of Parties. Civil No. 2:74-CV-346-S.

63. Virginia Code, Section 22.1-212.1.

64. *English as a Second Language: Handbook for Teachers and Administrators.* Virginia Department of Education: Foreign Languages and ESL, 1992.

65. *Clarification of Legal Responsibilities for Limited English Proficient (LEP) Students.* Virginia Department of Education. p. 3, 1992.

66. 1992 Revised Code of Washington. Vol. 2 28A.180.060, and 1992 Washington Administrative Code. Vol. 11. 392-160-035.

67. *Chief Council of State School Officers Report on Systematic Reform and Limited English Proficient Students in West Virginia,* pp. 154–155, 1995.

Afterword: A Response to Barbara Mujica

Stephen Krashen

In this article, I respond to some criticisms of my book *Under Attack: The Case against Bilingual Education* made by Barbara Mujica in her recent review "Irreconcilable Differences: Two Approaches to Educating LEP Students" (*READ Perspectives* for Fall 1997, Vol. IV, No. 2). I will deal with Mujica's comments in the order in which they are made in her review.

1. Mujica claims that I favor "programs that keep children in native language classes as long as possible" (p. 18). This is not correct. I recommend teaching in the native language as long as it is helpful for making subject matter in English more comprehensible, and I also recommend optional heritage language classes after "transition," in agreement with Glenn (1996).

2. Mujica objects to my "Paris Argument" on two grounds:

- She writes, "...there is a huge difference between cultural information and linguistic skill" (p. 19); and
- She argues that the American in Paris will apply the knowledge "immediately and constantly" while a child taught "for years" in the first language "will not have the opportunity to use her developing English skills..." (p. 19).

I argued that if you are about to move to Paris and work there, and know little French, it is a good idea to get information about Paris in English. This will make the world around you more comprehensible and help you acquire the language more easily. My point was that cultural knowledge *leads to* increased linguistic ability: the more background knowledge you have, the more you understand. The more you understand, the more you acquire. In the program I outline, children certainly do have the opportunity to apply their knowledge. They receive instruction in English in the same subject matter they have already studied in their primary language *as soon as that subject can be made comprehensible.* It doesn't happen the same day, but in some subjects, such as math, it can happen fairly soon. In addition, in the program I describe children are exposed to comprehensible English right away.

3. Mujica objects to programs in which instruction in the native language continues after conversational English is achieved because measures of academic English proficiency are unreasonable, demanding performance in some cases at the thirty-fifth percentile in English reading. Nowhere do I endorse any specific exit or transition criteria. My view is that movement from level to level in the gradual exit bilingual program I describe should be based on teacher judgment.

4. Mujica claims that a little first language help is acceptable, but "conversing for extended periods with a segment of the class in a language other than English may produce the adverse effect of segregating certain children from the rest of the group, or it may lead certain children to develop a crutch that will retard their learning of English" (p. 21). I do not recommend extensive mixing of languages in one class. In fact, the program I recommend is designed to avoid the situation Mujica describes: children in each class or group are, more or less, in the same linguistic boat. In addition, giving children background knowledge in the primary language is not a crutch, but is a means of making English input more comprehensible.

5. Mujica claims that I state that educators should dictate to parents what language to use at home. I support encouragement of the primary language at home, but I have never said that we should insist on it. Parents have the right to use whatever language they want to at home.

6. In my discussion of immigrant success without bilingual education (*de facto* bilingual education) Mujica, citing Russell and Baker, claims that I omit other important factors, such as age. My claim is that, *all other factors being equal*, those with better education in the primary language in their home country will acquire academic English more easily, a claim that is supported by research cited below.

7. Mujica objects to the relevance of the case histories I cite of successful immigrants who had quality education in their primary language: She argues that they "probably did not study the American civil war or Faulkner in their schools abroad. Although their knowledge of math and science might have helped them in the U.S. educational system, it is unlikely that much of the other subject matter transferred. Furthermore, one of the three was already competent in English, having studied for six years in British schools in Hong Kong" (p. 22).

I suggested that the value of education in the first language is due to two related contributions:

1. Subject matter knowledge gained in the first language makes English input more comprehensible; and
2. Literacy developed in the first language facilitates literacy development in English.

Good bilingual programs attempt to provide these two components.

There are many more cases than the ones I mentioned in *Under Attack*. Several more examples are in Ramos and Krashen (1996), who reported success stories of educated immigrants from Spain. In addition, there are research studies that confirm the existence of this phenomenon and that show its great strength, as well as its robustness: it is found using different research techniques and among different groups.

Gardner, Polyzoi and Rampaul (1966) studied the impact of education in the first language on progress in intensive ESL classes for Kurdish and Bosnian adult immigrants to Canada who had "virtually no English" when they arrived (p. 3). The subjects were classified into three groups, as presented in Table 1.

Table 1
Characteristics of Subjects

Subjects	n	Years of Formal Education	Age	Length of Study
High-literates	6	15	31	18
Semi-literates	4	7	28	21
Pre-literates	4	0	35	21

Notes: "Age" = Age of arrival in Canada; and "Length of study" = Months in ESL program.
Source: Gardner, Polyzoi and Rampaul, 1966.

Table 2 presents the gains made by each group on tests of oral and written English after participation in intensive ESL (twenty hours per week, for one to one and one-half years). For both measures, it is clear that the higher the level of literacy in the primary language, the greater the gains. This was true of both measures, and extremely powerful in the written test, in which pre-literates' post-test scores were lower than the high-literates' pre-test scores.

Table 2
Gains after Intensive ESL Instruction

Oral test scores	pre-	post-
High-literates	10	71
Semi-literates	7	58
Pre-literates	1	43
Written test scores	**pre-**	**post-**
High-literates	17	91
Semi-literates	0	48
Pre-literates	1	10

Notes: 100 = a perfect score for both tests.
Oral test: Personal questions, picture description, discussion of leisure activities, family.
Written test: Write name, circle correct time, copy words, label pictures, answer personal questions, read text and write answers to questions, fill in blanks with correct prepositions, verb tenses, multiple choice vocabulary.
Soruce: Gardner, Polyzoi and Rampaul, 1966.

Three independent studies using multiple regression arrive at conclusions similar to those of Gardner, et al.:

- Chiswick (1991) studied the determinants of English language proficiency of 836 illegal aliens who had been apprehended in Los Angeles in 1986–1987. Chiswick reported a positive relationship between years of education in the home country and English proficiency, with each year of additional schooling raising English fluency and reading ability 1.3 percent.
- Chiswick and Miller (1995) studied 4,166 immigrants to Australia, based on the 1981 and 1986 censuses. For those who immigrated to Australia from non-English speaking countries, each year of education in the home country raised English fluency 3.6 percent in the 1981 sample and 3.3 percent in the 1986 sample.
- Espenshade and Lu (1997) studied predictors of English competence among 4,146 immigrants to the United States (*Current Population Survey*, November 1989). Again, years of education in the home country before immigration was a significant predictor of English language proficiency.

All three studies controlled for the length of time the immigrant had been in the country and age at the time of immigration, and all considered the country of origin. But there were differences: Espenshade and Fu (1997) and Chiswick and Miller (1995) controlled for aspects of family and community life, and Chiswick (1991) included competence in English on arrival in the U.S.

The samples were different: subjects in Chiswick (1991) and Chiswick and Miller (1995) were men, but differed in mean age (23 years vs. 42.1 years), amount of education in the home country (7.1 years vs. 10.7 years), and duration of stay in the host country (1.5 years vs. 19.8 years). Espenshade and Fu's subjects included men and women but gender was controlled statistically.

All three studies relied on self-report of English, with subjects choosing between four possible responses:

1. Not at all;
2. Not well;
3. Well; and
4. Very well.

Different interpretations, however, were used by each study. Espenshade and Fu used a simple four point scale, with 0 corresponding to "not at all" and 3 corresponding to "very well." Chiswick assigned a score of 0 for "not well" and "not at all" and 1 for "very well" and "well," but Chiswick and Miller assigned 0 to everything except "very well."

Despite these differences, the results of the three multiple regression studies are very similar, attesting to the robustness of the phenomena. (Chiswick and Miller also cite other studies done with immigrants to Israel and Canada in which education in the home country was a significant predictor of proficiency in the language of the country.)

McManus, Gould and Welch (1983) examined the determinants of English proficiency for Hispanic men who immigrated to the United States. For those who had all their schooling abroad, the results agreed with those of the studies described above: more education was associated with better English. But for those who had some schooling in the United States and some abroad, more schooling abroad predicted lower English proficiency. McManus et al. however, used a different definition of English ability: theirs included both self-reported competence and reported use of English. Some subjects were not rated high in English proficiency, even though they rated their English as "very good," because they did not use English at home (p. 127).

Comprehensibility of school input in the U.S. could be a second factor. The mean number of years of education completed was 9.7. An immigrant who had two years of study in his home country and seven in the U.S. reported better English than one who had seven years of study in his home country and two in the U.S. Students who come later may actually acquire more of the second language than those arriving earlier, but they will have a much harder time catching up to their fellow students because the language demands for upper grades are much greater than those for lower grades. In the above example, the first student faced the grade three curriculum, while the second faced the much more demanding grade eight curriculum. Thus, the later arrivals may get less comprehensible input in school and make less progress, especially when special programs, such as bilingual education, are not available.

Mujica notes that one of the subjects I described had considerable exposure to English. Unfortunately, none of the additional research studies described here considered the amount of EFL study subjects had. Consequently, it could be argued that more education in the home country simply meant more EFL and that EFL was the cause of better English proficiency. Recall, however, that in Gardner et al. subjects arrived with "virtually no English," thus controlling for this variable. Also, in Espenshade and Fu (1997), English proficiency at arrival was controlled, which in effect controls for EFL study.

None of the regression studies included the impact of ESL in the host country. The probability that those with more home country education are more likely to enroll in ESL provides an alternative explanation for their higher proficiency in English. Note, however, that Gardner et al. show that those with more home country education (with little or no English proficiency) profit more from ESL. Thus, even if those with more home language education do more ESL in the host country, education in the home country, in the primary language, is still advantageous.

8. Mujica then objects to my description of cases such as that of Richard Rodriguez (1982), who grew up in the United States. I argue that Rodriguez succeeded because of the vast amount of comprehensible input he received in both conversational and academic English; Mujica argues that this is the treatment recommended by opponents of bilingual education. Rodriguez, however, lived in an English speaking neighborhood in Sacramento, the family attended an English-speaking church, and he had the benefit of an extremely print-rich environment in school. He was the only Spanish-speaking child in his class.

9. Mujica appears to agree with my conclusions that the underlying process of reading is similar in different languages, and that "once you can read, you can

read." But, she argues, "once children are conversant in English, why spend time teaching this skill in the native language?" (p. 22). If it were the case that all beginning readers were highly proficient and fluent in oral English, there would certainly be no problem in teaching them to read in English. But many are not when they first come to school. English conversational fluency does emerge rapidly, but it does not emerge instantaneously—it generally takes about two years. My question then is, "If they are conversant in their primary language, why wait until they are conversant in English to teach them to read?"

10. Mujica's next criticism is my interpretation of the role of socioeconomic factors. I suggest that the reason non-bilingual education children in New York City had higher exit rates than those in bilingual education was that the former were from more affluent homes, which meant a more print-rich environment, among other factors. Mujica notes that I offer no evidence to support this, other than a quote from a member of the school board. This is quite correct. I have no data to support this suggestion. That is why it is a suggestion. However, I cited ample evidence showing that socioeconomic factors have a powerful effect on school success, as well as on re-classification rates for LEP children.

11. Mujica next claims that I "fail to take into consideration the success of approaches such as the one adopted by the English Acquisition Program in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania" (p. 24). The report on Bethlehem appeared in *READ Perspectives* in 1997. It was, thus, impossible for me to include it in a book written in 1996. I have, however, read the report (Goldberg, 1997), and I do not conclude that their program is superior to bilingual education: no comparison group was used, and the exit rate was modest. When one looks at children who were classified as beginners when they began to be studied, only 12 out of 130 (or 9 percent) exited in three years (Goldberg, p. 71).

12. I am also accused of ignoring the success of the structured immersion program in El Paso, Texas. I have discussed this program several times in print, including in *Under Attack* as well as in Krashen (1991), pointing out that this "structured immersion" program, designed by Rosa Apodaca, is identical to the gradual exit bilingual program used in California. Oddly, on the very next page (p. 25) Mujica notes that I do discuss this program, but mislabel it as bilingual education, claiming that the children in this program are taught "almost exclusively in English" (p. 25). This is not true. Please see my description of the program and quotations from El Paso USD documents in Krashen (1991, 1996). I worked in El Paso when this program was being set up. It is bilingual education.

13. Mujica disagrees with my interpretation of polls on attitudes toward bilingual education. I do not conclude, as Mujica incorrectly states, that the public is "overwhelmingly" in favor of bilingual education. I do conclude that support for bilingual education is surprisingly strong when the question is not worded so as to imply that more first language instruction means less English language development. Unlike Mujica, I do not believe that "native language instruction involves a trade-off" (p. 25): it is not the case that more native language instruction means less English language development. The whole point of properly organized bilingual education is that the first language can be used in a way so as to help English language development.

14. Mujica states "Krashen argues that the press is biased against bilingual education, but he fails to provide documentation to back up his argument" (p. 25). I certainly did provide documentation. I cited and briefly summarized McQuillan and Tse (1996), who did an empirical study of the media's handling of bilingual education compared to that of the scholarly journals over a ten year period.

15. Mujica accuses me of avoiding the confusion surrounding the term "bilingual education": however, Rossell and Baker show that people don't know what bilingual education means. Rossell and Baker's evidence comes from their analysis of Huddy and Sears (1990), in which "only 22 percent...of 1,170 non-Hispanic adults were able to give a roughly accurate description of bilingual education. Almost 40 percent described it as bilingualism or foreign language instruction, and 29 percent were unable to give any description at all. Despite the fact that three-quarters of respondents could not accurately describe bilingual education, a majority supported bilingual education" (p. 171).

Huddy and Sears's classifications along with the percentage who supplied each definition from the sample of 1,170 is presented in Table 3 below:

Table 3
Percent Supplying Definition of Bilingual Education

"Accurate"	
Teaching foreign students in their own language	6%
Teaching in two languages	16%
Teaching English to foreign students	9%
"Inaccurate"	
Bilingualism	18%
Foreign language instruction	21%
No Description	29%

Table 4
Support for Bilingual Education

For those who give "accurate" descriptions	
Teaching foreign students in their own language	–.74
Teaching in two languages	2.27
Teaching English to foreign students	1.75
"Inaccurate"	
Bilingualism	3.89
Foreign language instruction	2.23
No description	2.79

Note: 0 = no opinion, range from - 10.25 to + 10.25.

Even if we accept Huddy and Sear's classification (it can be argued that "teaching English to foreign students" is too vague to categorize as accurate or inaccurate), what is crucial is that nearly all groups of subjects were mildly positive about bilingual education. The only negative subgroup was the one that defined bilingual education as "teaching foreign students in their own language," which was very close to neutral and consisted of a small subgroup of the sample (see Table 4).

In addition, a series of studies by Shin and colleagues (Shin and Gribbons, 1996; Shin and Lee, 1996; Shin and Kim, in press) shows that when bilingual education is carefully defined, support is high. Shin, as I noted in *Under Attack*, asked subjects their view of each component of bilingual education. They were asked whether they thought that developing literacy in the primary language helped literacy development in English, whether subject matter learning in the primary language was useful in making subject matter more comprehensible, and whether continuing first language development had cognitive and economic benefits. This certainly helps clear up some of the confusion surrounding the term "bilingual education" and was included in *Under Attack*.

Mujica notes that in her experience, she has found that "most people who say they favor it [bilingual education] change their minds when they realize it often entails almost all native language instruction" (p. 26). If I thought bilingual education was "almost all native language instruction" I would also oppose it. The recent Los Angeles Times Orange County Poll is instructive here:

Question (posed to 740 adults):
Which of the following do you most prefer for teaching students who speak limited English?

Results of Poll	Total	Latino
Mostly English with some help in their native language	59%	57%
Only in English as soon as they enroll in school	32%	26%
Native language until they are ready to learn English	7%	17%

Source: Los Angeles Times/Orange County Poll.

As Mujica suggests, few support option three, which calls for no English at all at the beginning. This is, however, an extreme version of bilingual education, and one that I do not support. What is of interest is that only 26 percent of Latinos and 32 percent of the total population favored English-only. The most popular option was number one, not exactly the gradual exit plan used in California but the closest one to it of the three options.

16. Mujica writes "...Krashen attributes opposition to prolonged instruction in the mother tongue to xenophobic and racist points of view" (p. 26). Later in her review, she also accuses me of "disparaging opponents of programs" I support (p. 34). Not only am I quoted out of context, but my original prose (*Under Attack*, p. 49) says exactly the opposite of Mujica's interpretation. I suggested that xenophobes and racists were only a subgroup of those opposed to bilingual education. I discussed the many reasons why people could be opposed to bilingual education, including poor placement procedures and demands that teachers acquire second languages. I certainly do not believe that all those opposed to bilingual education are xenophobes and racists. The majority of opponents of bilingual education that I have spoken to appear to be sincerely committed to the well-being of limited-English proficient children.

Rosalie Porter (in a personal communication to me) has also objected to my characterization of opponents of bilingual education, noting that I do not include the possibility that "some educators are opposed to bilingual education because they are convinced by research and experience that it is not the most effective learning plan for language minority children." Dr. Porter is correct. I should have said this. It represents my position correctly. We have different interpretations of the research and our experiences, but I do not doubt the sincerity of many critics of bilingual education.

17. Mujica feels that Rossell and Baker have demonstrated that continuing to teach children in Spanish "after they know some English hampers rather than develops their acquisition of English" (p. 27). The appendix to *Under Attack* presents a different interpretation of the research Rossell and Baker reviewed.

Mujica does not discuss the major advantage of the gradual exit program: it teaches children in the first language in just those areas in which first language medium instruction is the most useful, that is, in those areas in which instruction in English would not be comprehensible. Moreover, the subject matter knowledge gained in this way helps make subsequent instruction in English much more comprehensible.

18. Finally, Mujica states, "Krashen concludes that because opposition to bilingual education has become so intense, it is necessary to inoculate it from attack" (p. 27). Not quite. I argued that a sure way to inoculate bilingual education from attack is to make it even more successful, and a sure way to do this is to enrich the print environment in both languages. Mujica criticizes this strategy by remarking, "Placing the books on the library shelf is no guarantee that students will use them" (p. 27). This is true, of course. I endorse literature classes, sustained silent reading, reading aloud, and other means of encouraging reading. I have discussed this in great detail in Krashen (1993). In addition, there is compelling evidence that when children are given the chance to read, they do (Ramos and Krashen, in press; Von Sprecken and Krashen, in press). Mujica also feels that children will only want to read in English, even when native language books are available, but cites no data supporting this other than my observation that children do enjoy reading in English. She also maintains that I do not deal with problems such as lack of leisure time and low motivation; all this has been done in Krashen (1993), in which I discuss sustained silent reading and encouraging reading.

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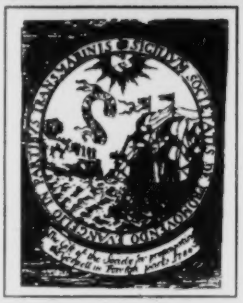

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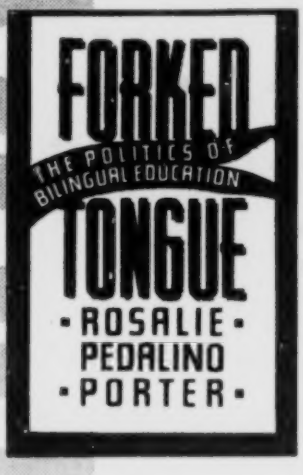

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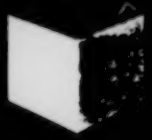

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- Christine H. Rossell

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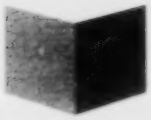

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INTRODUCTION

This year—1998—marks the thirtieth anniversary of the Bilingual Education Act, Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1968, and the occasion is being celebrated with real fireworks.

On the national level, Congress has taken up new legislation that may change federal policy and regulations dramatically if it is enacted this fall. HR 3892, introduced by Representative Frank Riggs (R–California) and approved by the Education and Workforce Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives, combines the funding for bilingual education and immigrant education into one block grant (Lynn Schnaiberg, "House Bill Would Alter Federal Bilingual Ed. Policy," *Education Week*, June 17, 1998, p. 6). These funds will be allocated directly to the states, based on the number of limited-English students in each school district.

For the first time in thirty years, the federal government will no longer dictate the kind of program that will receive federal funding but will give districts maximum flexibility. HR 3892 also specifies that parents of limited-English proficient (LEP) students must grant permission before their children are placed in a special program. This new law has the elegance of simplicity—it is direct, and it promotes diversity of educational options. All school districts with LEP students would receive funds, rather than a few favored districts receiving the lion's share as in the past. No longer would three-fourths of the federal funds be earmarked only for native-language instruction programs—all districts may choose among a number of program models, according to their own local conditions.

At the state level, although minor changes have occurred in Rhode Island, New Jersey and Massachusetts in recent years, it is California that has produced the shocker this year. The "English for the Children" Initiative, filed and vigorously promoted by California businessman, Ron Unz, received 61 percent of the popular vote on June 2, 1998, in spite of a strong opposition campaign that outspent the Unz supporters by three to one. Unz enlisted Latino leaders such as Jaime Escalente, the famous high school teacher whose success in teaching Latino students advanced mathematics was the subject of the film, *Stand and Deliver*. The English-teaching campaign made good use of the Spanish-language media. On June 3 a coalition of advocates for the *status quo* challenged the law in federal court, asking for a restraining order to stop its application. On July 15 the court ruled that the plaintiffs had not made a case

for putting a hold on the implementation of the new law. In a forty-eight page opinion, Judge Legge concluded that English-teaching programs in no way deny any child's civil rights; are not prejudicial to national origin minority groups; and that the plaintiff's case was based largely on the speculative nature of future harm.

Contrary to the alarmist statements of native language program supporters, the new law does not do away entirely with bilingual instruction. Instead, it redirects the education for limited-English students, focusing intensively on the early and rapid learning of English rather than on the long years of mainly Spanish language instruction favored and promoted strongly by the California Department of Education for the past twenty-two years. The law now requires that all LEP children be placed in a special English immersion program "for a period not normally to exceed one year..." or until English learners have acquired "a good working knowledge of English" (English Language Education for Immigrant Children Initiative, Article 2, pp. 1–2). Judicial support for this California initiative can be expected to influence other states. Parents are allowed to request an alternative to the English language program for their children.

Four new authors grace the pages of *READ Perspectives'* Fall 1998 issue, as well as a third appearance by Bethlehem, PA, educator Ann Goldberg. Professor Christine M. Rossell, national authority on bilingual education research, reviews the ninety-six page Wayne Thomas-Virginia Collier report that became available via Internet (http://www.ncbe.gwu.edu/ncbepubs) in May of this year. This is one of the first critiques of the study that has dominated the public dialogue on language minority education for the past two years. In my twenty-five year experience in this field, no report of "findings" on bilingual education programs has ever received more laudatory press attention on the basis of less documentation. No one was allowed to see the data on which this study's conclusions were supposedly based, yet the conclusions were routinely reported as fact.

Rossell points out these serious problems with the Thomas-Collier material currently available: there is still no "there," i.e., no information is provided on which students, which school districts, what characteristics of classroom instruction, socioeconomic levels, or test scores, have been examined; the methodology employed is unscientific and can produce misleading results; and the authors simply rejected some of the results at will. Two prominent features of the report are prolonged discussions of bilingual education theory and attacks on the scientific method. So the complaint remains, "Where's the beef?"

Mark Hugo Lopez of the University of Maryland School of Public Affairs and Marie T. Mora of the Department of Economics and International Business at New Mexico State University contribute a rare, preliminary study analyzing the possible effects of different types of schooling on the future earnings capacity of Latino students. In their report, "Bilingual Education and Labor Market Earnings Among Hispanics: Evidence Using *High School and Beyond*," the authors find that "first and (to a lesser extent) second generation Hispanics who attended a bilingual education program earn significantly less than their otherwise similar English-immersed peers who received monolingual English instruction, *ceteris paribus*." The earnings differences for these two groups of Hispanics are significantly different. Ten years after high school graduation, first generation (foreign born) Hispanics educated in English earn 31 percent more annually than their peers who had been in bilingual programs. For native-born, second generation children of Hispanic families, the earnings difference is smaller but still important: bilingually-educated students earn 24 percent less than English-immersed students. Certainly there is an urgent need for continued research in this area.

In March of this year, one segment of the *Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study*, begun in 1992, was released to the national press by Professor Ruben G. Rumbaut at Michigan State University. The READ Institute commissioned a review of this important work by Professor Paul Hollander, University of Massachusetts sociologist and published author on American social and cultural issues. The portion of the study under review tracks children of immigrants in San Diego County and Miami-Dade County from 1992 to 1995–96 when most were high school seniors. As one would expect, the differences in attitudes, behaviors, school achievement, and social adjustment vary greatly among first and second generation Latino and Asian immigrants who now constitute 71.5 percent of the Miami-Dade County population and 43 percent of San Diego County residents (Celia W. Dugger, "Study of Immigrants' Young Discounts Fears for Future," *New York Times*, 3/21/98, p. 1).

As is our practice, *READ Perspectives* publishes follow-up reports on promising school programs for English language learners from time to time. The current article by Ann Goldberg, Coordinator of the English Acquisition Program for the Bethelehem, PA, Area Public Schools, reports on the evolving program features and on the student progress in English language learning at the end of the fourth year. Bethlehem took the courageous step of completely remodeling its education program for LEP students, almost all Spanish-speaking Puerto Rican children, in 1993. The Spanish bilingual program which the district had provided for a dozen years had not produced satisfactory results in student achievement.

Bethlehem reports that at the end of the third year, 63 percent of the children in the English Acquisition Program had already exited the program or were at the "advanced" level of English and "able to participate fully in regular classroom instruction without special help." At the end of the fourth year, according to Bethlehem data, "83 percent of the students who started in the program are able to participate fully in regular classroom instruction in English, with minimal or no special help." To appreciate the uncommonly high level of progress represented here, it is necessary to compare the Bethlehem data with California where the state-wide average in 1997 for LEP students exiting from bilingual programs was 6.7 percent (Debra Camillo, California Department of Education).

Bethlehem began a noteworthy school-to-work program last year for students at the high school level who enter the city schools with multiple problems besides the lack of English language—low reading and writing skills, poor motivation, unsuitable behavior, a record of truancy. A local hospital provides these at-risk students with mentors who work with them two afternoons a week, and they are enrolled in a special high school curriculum related to careers in the health care field. Of the sixteen students who started in the first year of the program, eleven graduated successfully, three moved to other cities, and only two did not complete it—quite an impressive beginning. The school-to-work program will continue with a slightly larger number of students in the Fall of 1998.

Ms. Goldberg speaks for many of us when she says of the bilingual students, "These children are our future doctors, teachers, business managers, and artists. Their diverse backgrounds will lend strength to our society as they participate in the full range of opportunities in the English-speaking community."

Rosalie Pedalino Porter, Editor
READ Perspectives

Mystery on the Bilingual Express: A Critique of the Thomas and Collier Study "School Effectiveness for Language Minority Students"

Christine H. Rossell

Perhaps no other "yet to be released" report has been quoted so much or so often as the so-called "Collier Study."[1] Approximately two years before the report was completed, Virginia Collier was holding public meetings at which she disseminated a five page summary of her "study" (Thomas and Collier, 1995)—two pages of text, two pages of line graphs, and a one page list of program definitions. In no time, the "Collier Study" had become another factoid in the controversy over bilingual education. Even though no one had actually read it, the report was being cited everywhere as proof that bilingual education, particularly two-way bilingual education, was superior to all other programs for limited-English proficient (LEP) children.

Some two years later, the complete report has finally been issued. It can be downloaded from the National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education web page at http://www.ncbe.edu. Although 96 pages long, it contains no more data on the findings of the study than the same two charts in the original press release. There are no tables at all and the few other charts in the study are merely illustrations of their theories. In fact, this report consists primarily of theories of bilingual education and criticism of the scientific method.

The methodology of the study is unscientific, as is the case with all of Virginia Collier's research. The criteria for a scientific study (see Rossell and Baker, 1996a, 1996b) are basically four-fold. First, there should be a treatment group—for example, LEP students in a bilingual program—and one or more comparison groups—for example, similar LEP students in one or more types of all-English programs. Second, the achievement of these students should be compared after some time period in their respective programs. Third, any differences between the students initially should be controlled for statistically in order to give each group a level playing field. (This is not necessary if there is random assignment.) Fourth, the *same* students must be followed over time since there is no way to statistically control or match on initial differences, nor

would it make any sense to do so if different students are in the study at different points in time. Although all four characteristics are essential, only the first two are found in the Thomas and Collier study.

A treatment and a comparison group are necessary in order to interpret outcomes. If students in a bilingual education program score at the 30th percentile, it is a positive effect if they would have scored at the 20th percentile in an alternative program, a negative effect if they would have scored at the 40th percentile in an alternative program, or no effect at all if they would have scored at the same 30th percentile in an alternative program. It is only this comparison of students in a bilingual program to students in an alternative program that enables us to evaluate what a score at the 30th percentile means.[2]

But comparing students in alternate programs is not enough. One must also statistically control for any pre-treatment differences between the two groups. If students are randomly assigned to different programs, a statistical control for pre-treatment differences is not necessary because we can be sure that any difference between the outcomes of the two programs is not a result of the characteristics of the students.

However, random assignment is rarely possible in the real world. In the real world, students are assigned to, or select themselves for, different programs based on their individual characteristics such as motivation, intelligence, social class, or learning problems. These differences that exist before the program will be confused with the effects of the program unless statistically eliminated. For example, if the students in a bilingual program are poorer than the students in an alternative program, it would be unfair to compare the two groups without adjusting statistically for these differences in social class.

It is also essential that the same students be followed over time because otherwise we have no way of knowing whether the students were initially comparable before the program. Nor would it make any sense to control for pre-treatment differences if there are different students before the treatment than there are after the treatment.

Virginia Collier's and Thomas and Collier's studies have some, but not all, of these essential characteristics. But rather than apologizing for this and cautioning the reader, as is the professional norm in our field, they attempt to discredit the scientific method. Some of their criticisms are valid and some are not. As they point out, the typical scientific study examines growth in achievement over a short time period because of the requirement to follow the same students over time. But where Thomas and Collier go wrong is that they pro-

pose to "solve" this problem by following *different* students over eleven grades, and to have no statistical control for pre-treatment differences. This is analogous to criticizing the judicial system for its failure to consistently result in conviction for the guilty and acquittal for the innocent and offering as the solution throwing the accused in a vat of water—if they are innocent they will float, otherwise they will sink.

Their other criticisms are also problematic. For example, they criticize Rossell and Baker (1996) for suggesting that "only studies in which students are randomly assigned to treatment and control groups are methodologically acceptable" (p. 20). In fact, that was never said. Of the seventy-two methodologically acceptable studies that we identified, only five had random assignment. The other sixty-seven were quasi-experimental—that is they had a treatment and a control group, as well as a control for pre-treatment differences in the absence of random assignment. Since a quasi-experimental design is both scientific and "do-able," Thomas and Collier really have no excuse for not using it in their study.

They also erroneously assert that the scientific method does not work because "At best, one might find a comparison group that received an alternative form of special assistance, but even this alternative is not easily carried out in practice" (p. 20). In fact, it is simple to find a comparison group because the vast majority of LEP children in the U.S. are in alternative programs. The California Department of Education language census, for example, (http://www.cde.ca.gov—Table 13) indicates that in 1997 only 29.7 percent of the LEP students in the state were enrolled in bilingual education. Even in Los Angeles, only 34 percent of the LEP students are enrolled in bilingual education. Thus, Thomas and Collier are wrong—it is easy to find a comparison group that has received an alternative form of special assistance and it is often possible "to carry this out in practice" if one is trained in social science research methods.

There are more errors in their criticism of the scientific method. On page twenty-two, they state that "If truly comparable local control groups are not available, one can construct a comparison group from the performance of other groups such as the norm group of a nationally normed test." Unfortunately, one *cannot* construct a comparison group from the norm group of a nationally normed test. First, LEP children are defined as LEP precisely *because* they score below the national norming group of fluent English speakers, and so the national norm group will always be higher. For example, a common criterion for classification as LEP is scoring below the 36th percentile and a common criterion for reclassification as no longer LEP (i.e., Fully English Proficient [FEP])

is scoring above the 36th percentile. Thus, no matter how effective a program is, children classified as LEP will by definition score below the average for fluent English speakers. Second, the *growth* in achievement of LEP children is much greater than the growth in achievement of FEP and native speakers of English because the tests are normed on a fluent English speaking population. If fluent English speaking children are making grade level progress they will leave a grade with the same score with which they entered. LEP children, by contrast, may make greater progress than this because they are getting two treatments: learning the English language and learning the subject on the test. Thus, the growth in the achievement of the two groups is not in any way comparable. Third, only half of all LEP children will reach the national norm because only half of all English monolingual children ever reach it. How is one to tell if the national norm is the right standard for any individual child? For some children it may be too high and for others too low. In short, a national norm group is not the right criterion by which to evaluate bilingual education. That Thomas and Collier continue to perpetuate this myth is both a major problem with their study specifically and with the field of bilingual education generally.

WHAT IS THE TREATMENT?

Thomas and Collier criticize current research because programs vary greatly in how they are implemented and it is difficult to tell exactly what is being evaluated in these studies. This is true, and their study has the very same problems because it is massive and covers a fifteen year period. In their own words, the study

> includes over 700,000 language minority student records, collected by the five participating school systems between 1982 and 1996, including 42,317 students who have attended our participating schools for four years or more. This number also includes students who began school in the mid-1970s and were first tested in 1982. (p. 30)

There is no way they can know exactly what is going on in these school districts because rather than doing their own research, they relied on school staff to define the programs. Although this is what most researchers do, it is a mistake. Having visited almost a hundred classes in my research on bilingual education, I have learned that not only can you *not* rely on school staff to define programs accurately, you cannot even rely on the teacher in the classroom to define her own approach accurately (see Rossell and Baker, 1996b, Chapter 4). Even today teachers will claim to be teaching bilingually in programs *currently* labeled bilingual education when actually they are teaching completely or almost completely in English. You absolutely cannot expect

teachers to reliably or accurately describe programs implemented fifteen years ago, even if you could find someone who had been in the school system that long.

There are, of course, problems with all studies, but what is striking about Thomas and Collier is their failure to acknowledge that their study has these or any other problems. Indeed, quite the contrary, they believe their own study overcomes the limitations of previous research. They are wrong.

PURPOSIVE SAMPLING

Thomas and Collier acknowledge one limitation when they admit that

> our findings are generalizable only to well-implemented, stable programs from school systems similar to those in our study. This is not accidental. We intended to select a purposive sample of above-average school systems...all of which were well implemented by experienced, well-trained school staff. (p. 28)

However, they never define "well-implemented," "stable," "above-average," "experienced," or "well-trained." Indeed, no data are presented on any of the characteristics of any of these programs, the children enrolled in them, the schools in which they reside, or the school districts. *We literally know nothing about these school districts and their schools* other than the fact that there are five of them and they are "moderate-to-large, urban and suburban school systems from all over the U.S." (p. 30). Even their programs are defined only in broad generalities that could apply to any program of that type in any district. Since the schools and school districts are not named, there is no way to check their assertions that these are well-implemented programs, or even that they are *equally* well-implemented programs—that is, well-implemented across program types.

Even if it were possible to define "well-implemented," how could one do so across eleven grades and a fifteen-year time period from 1982 to 1996? Thomas and Collier never tell us. They collected information on program quality and classroom atmosphere by holding "focus groups." They explain this process as follows:

> To measure school program effectiveness in each school district, we began by interviewing school staff to identify and reach a consensus on definitions of programs and their implementation. We did this through focus groups with bilingual/ESL teachers and resource staff. Through these group interviews, we uncovered differences from one school dis-

> trict to another in the labels given to programs, but consistency in general characteristics of differences between programs. We have chosen here to report these findings by using the names of general program labels in bilingual/ESL education. (p. 48)

We do not know what questions were asked or what topics were discussed. Nor do we know when during the fifteen-year period these focus groups were held, how many were held, and how information obtained in this process helped to define programs and evaluate the "atmosphere." In the determination of how "bilingual" a program is, focus groups are neither a proper nor an adequate substitute for observations of classrooms. They are also not a substitute for hard data on program quality. These data might include class size, teacher qualifications, percentage of English used in instruction, racial composition of the classroom and school, percentage eligible for free or reduced lunch in the classroom and school, percentage classified LEP, and so forth. None of this is in the report, and there is no promise of it in future reports. In fact, in twenty-five years of reading technical reports, I do not think I have ever read one with so little information in it. Certainly, I have never read a federal grant report with so little information.

The last federal grant report I wrote (Steel, Levine, Rossell, and Armor, 1993), had seventy-four tables, fifty-nine charts, and 134 pages of appendices explaining the sampling procedure, the characteristics of the sample, and the methodology. Approximately 37 percent of the report was devoted to tables and charts, and 68 percent of the report was devoted to tables, charts, and appendices explaining sampling procedures, sample characteristics, and methodology. Our appendices also included the complete text of the questionnaire that we used. Another federal grant report, this one by Ramirez et al. (1991), contained even more tables and figures than ours, although proportionately it was about the same. This two-volume report contained 1,148 pages of which there were 478 tables and 228 figures on the characteristics of the sample, the outcomes, and the statistical analysis. The methodology was explained in intricate detail, and the tables and figures represent about sixty-one percent of the report.

The Thomas and Collier report by contrast has no tables at all, no information on the characteristics of the sample and methodology, and no statistical analyses. The two figures represent only one percent of the report. This appears to be a new low in federal grant reporting.

METHODOLOGY

Because of the lack of information in the report, it is hard to know exactly what Thomas and Collier have done. As a result, this has generated some

confusion among experts in bilingual education. One prominent expert who has read the study believes their line graphs reprersent not real achievement, but *predictions* of what these students would achieve. This assumption is fueled by the fact that the test scores cover eleven grades, but the longest study that anyone knows about is five years—(the Ramirez et al. [1991] study which is apparently no longer in their database).[3] What people don't realize is that this is not a true longitudinal study because most of the students in the sample have only four years of data, and there are almost no students with eleven grades of data. Thus, each grade consists of different students. Rather than apologize for this, they brag about it. Indeed, they claim to

> have greatly increased the statistical power of our study with very large sample sizes. We have achieved these sample sizes, even when attrition reduces the number of students we can follow over several years, by analyzing multiple cohorts of students for a given length of time (e.g., seven years) between major testings. (p. 28)

Thomas and Collier do not tell us the size of each cohort, their initial test scores, their ethnicity, their social class, nor how they were matched—that is, what leeway was allowed in the matching and at what point in their education. The explanation for their procedure is provided in only a few paragraphs:

> The sample figure below illustrates eight available seven-year testing cohorts for students who entered school in Grade 1, were tested in Grade 4, and who remained in school to be tested in Grade 11.
>
> We then analyzed multiple cohorts of different students over a shorter time period (e.g., six years), followed by successive analyses of different students in multi-year cohorts down to the four-year testing interval. In doing this, we have in effect "modeled" the typical school system, where many students present on a given day have received instruction for periods of time between one and twelve years. Typically, the shorter-term cohorts (e.g., four years) contain more students than the longer-term cohorts since students have additional opportunities to leave the school system with each passing year.
>
> Using this approach, we are able to "overlay" the long-term cohorts with the shorter-term cohorts and examine any changes in the achievement trends that result. If there are no significant changes in the trends, we can then continue this process with shorter-term cohorts at each stage. If significant changes occur in the data trends at a given stage, we pause and explore the data for possible factors that caused the changes. (pp. 28–29)

The above paragraphs are pretty much the sum total of the explanation of their methodology (although they repeat it again on pp. 53–54), and they are

Table 1
Years and Grades of Test Administration

	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96
Cohort 8								4		6		8			11
Cohort 7							4		6		8			11	
Cohort 6						4		6		8			11		
Cohort 5					4		6		8			11			
Cohort 4				4		6		8			11				
Cohort 3			4		6		8			11					
Cohort 2		4		6		8			11						
Cohort 1	4		6		8			11							

Source: Thomas and Collier (1997: 29).

simply inadequate. Moreover, the first sentence—that students entered in first grade were tested in fourth grade and remained in school until eleventh grade—contradicts the fourth sentence that says there were shorter-term cohorts of four years and that these contain more students than the longer-term cohorts. In addition, Table 1 shows exactly eight years of data for each cohort. Where are the four-year cohorts that Thomas and Collier refer to? Where are the five-year cohorts, and so forth? Why do Thomas and Collier refer to the cohorts as seven-year cohorts when eight years of achievement data are portrayed in the table?

It appears that the cohorts were defined by the year (1982, etc.) they started analyzing achievement data. Each cohort, however, is comprised of different students tested at different times—that is, they "overlay" the long-term cohorts with the shorter-term cohorts. Thomas and Collier never tell us how many students were followed over four years and what percentage of the total program enrollment they represent, nor how many students were followed over five years and what percentage of the total program enrollment they represent, and so forth. There is just a vague reference to the fact that there are more students in the shorter-term cohorts.

Their discussion of matching students is also inadequate. They claim to be

> "blocking," first to group students using categorical or continuous variables that are potential covariates, and then later to use these groups as another independent variable in the analysis. Essentially, all student scores

> that fall into the same group are considered to be matched (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1989, p. 348) and the performance of each matched group within each level of program type can be compared. Each group can then be followed separately and its performance on the outcome variables (typically test scores) can be investigated separately from that of other groups of similar students. Interactions between the new independent variable represented by the blocked groups and other independent variables (e.g., type of program) can be investigated.... However, when the assumptions of ANCOVA [analysis of covariance]could be met, we used ANCOVA as a supplement to blocking, in order to take advantage of the benefits of both techniques in situations where each works best. In some of our analyses, we used an expanded, generalized form of ANCOVA. (p. 27)

But what scores did they match on? Which groups of students were matched and how? Their charts do not follow each group separately and they never give us this information. Nor is there a sing!e statistical analysis in this report. When and where did they use ANCOVA, and what happened to the results? Why did they not present them?

NUMBER OF YEARS IN THE PROGRAM

Thomas and Collier ignore the number of years students spent in the program. They justify this on the grounds that ESL pullout programs are designed to be short-term, limited instructional support: "There are no four year, five year, or six year ESL-pullout programs in existence in our participating school systems" (p.54). However, in every one of the school systems I have personally analyzed, students were in ESL pullout programs until they were re-designated. Since the criterion for re-designation was often a percentile criterion that was not achievable by a third or a half of all English monolingual students (e.g., the thirty-sixth or fiftieth percentile)—let alone students who are still learning English—some students received ESL support their entire elementary school careers. This is also true of so-called early exit bilingual programs—that is, some students exit after two or three years and some are in them for their entire elementary school careers. Thus, not controlling for length of time in the program introduces error into an analysis.

VALIDATION OF RESULTS

Thomas and Collier assure the reader that they "validated" the findings from their five participating school systems by "visiting" other school systems in twenty-six U.S. states during the past two years and asking the school districts to "verify" their findings. But they never tell us what "validate" and "verify" mean. Does it mean having conversations with people? Does it mean

checking the statistics of other school districts to see if they are similar? If so, how similar would they have to be to qualify as "validation"? Since school districts typically do not keep longitudinal data like this (and if they do, it is not readily accessible), it is hard to believe it is the latter. We will never know what "validate" and "verify" mean because Thomas and Collier just do not think it is important to tell us.

DISCARDING UNWANTED RESULTS

Although Thomas and Collier state that "each school district's data [is] analyzed separately" (p. 30), they do not explain what that means. The chart shows six lines for five school districts. How many programs per school district are there? If the five school districts are analyzed separately, why are there only six lines?

They apparently discarded results they thought were not "generalizable":

> We first examined patterns in one school district, to see if any program or instructional variables appeared to have strong influence on language minority students' achievement. Then if a *particular pattern* emerged, we assumed it was not generalizable beyond the context of that school system, unless we found a *similar pattern* in a second school system. Once the *same pattern* appeared *repeatedly* in the data across more than two research sites, we *started to assume some generalizability*. The patterns that we are repeating here are general academic achievement patterns across all five of our research sites. [Emphasis added] (p. 48)

Discarding results you don't like is an unacceptable approach to data analysis. It also means that this study can never be replicated since everyone will have a different perception of such words and phrases as "similar pattern," "repeatedly," and "started to assume some generalizability."

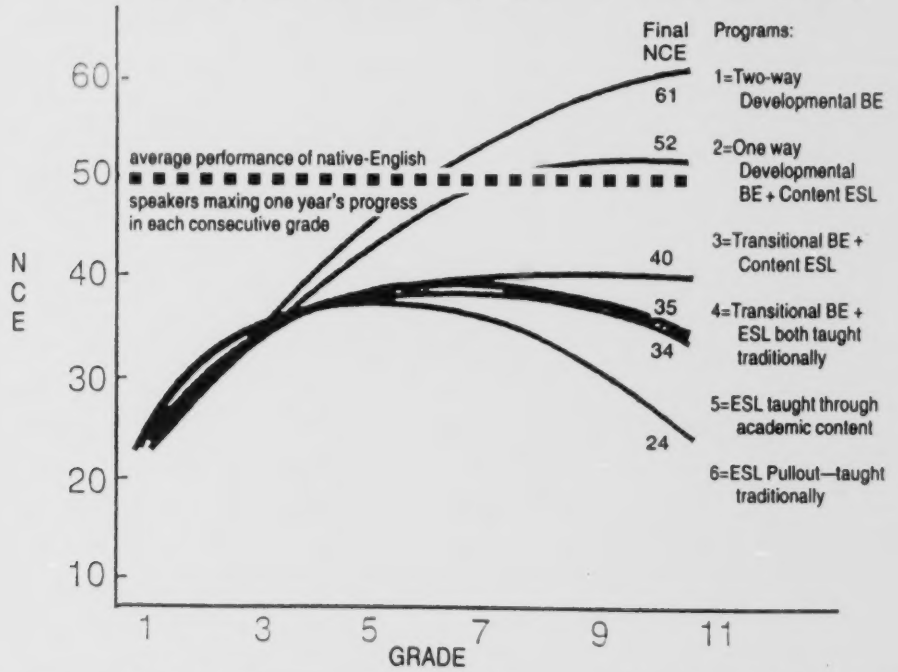
NEW DATA, SAME TRENDS

Another oddity is that the trend lines in Figure 1 in this report appear to be the same as those in Thomas and Collier's 1995 press release (despite the fact that the Ramirez et al. (1991) study was apparently dropped from their database and two more years of data added). How does this happen? Well, if the researchers think it is perfectly fine to pick and choose among achievement trends, selecting only those that "assumed some generalizability," how could it not happen? Any new data that deviates from the earlier pattern is discarded because it is not "generalizable." Thomas and Collier have thus taken a giant step backwards from the scientific goal of establishing research standards that

Figure 1
Thomas and Collier's Chart of Elementary School Programs

Figure 6

PATTERNS OF K-12 ENGLISH LEARNERS' LONG-TERM ACHIEVEMENT IN NCES ON STANDARDIZED TESTS IN ENGLISH READING COMPARED ACROSS SIX PROGRAM MODELS
(Results aggregated from a series of 4–8 year longitudinal studies from well-implemented, mature programs in five school districts)



Source: From *School Effectiveness for Language Minority Students* (p. 53) by W. P. Thomas & V. Collier, December 1997, NCBE Resource Collection Series, No. 9. Washington, DC: National Clearing House for Bilingual Education. Copyright by Wayne P. Thomas and Virginia P. Collier, 1997. Reprinted with permission from NCBE and Thomas and Collier. http://www.ncbe.gwu.edu/ncbepubs/resource/effectiveness/thomas-collier97.pdf

are objective and verifiable. Once again, they do not even apologize for it. Quite the contrary, they think this is progress!

Overcoming Poverty

Thomas and Collier claim that "the schools with the highest achievement levels were so effective that the effect of these programs overcame the power of student background variables such as poverty" (p. 48). But the only analysis that would justify such an assertion would be one showing that children of

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lower social class were scoring the same or higher than children of higher social class controlling for the students' years in this country, years in their programs, age, and initial language fluency. Since they apparently did no statistical analysis of this kind, they cannot know that the programs have overcome the effects of poverty. If these programs had actually overcome the effects of poverty they would be the first in the four decades of social experimentation in the U.S. and the world would be beating a path to their door.

FIRST TESTED IN FOURTH GRADE

According to Thomas and Collier, the students in their study were first tested in fourth grade. This may be true of the students in bilingual education, but it would be an oddity to have a student in an ESL program not tested until fourth grade. It is equally odd, however, that although the students were apparently not tested until fourth grade, Thomas and Collier's elementary graph in Figure 1 shows test scores that average approximately 22 in first grade and 35 by third grade. Where do these data come from? How can students who enter school with no proficiency in English be scoring at the twenty-second percentile by first grade regardless of the type of program they are in? Why did the 1995 chart have the same average score of 22 in *kindergarten* when presumably no students had been tested? Thomas and Collier do not explain any of these issues.

ONLY READING ACHIEVEMENT?

Another of the many mysteries in this report is why the authors only examined reading achievement. They claim this is justified because reading involves more complex problem-solving across the curriculum than do language arts. However, they are silent on why they did not also analyze math test scores, presumably a subject involving complex problem-solving.

It is interesting that the two achievement areas that Thomas and Collier failed to analyze in their report—language arts and math—are the two areas where bilingual education does the worst. In our review of the research on bilingual education (Rossell and Baker, 1996a, 1996b), Keith Baker and I found that transitional bilingual education was *worse* than "doing nothing" (also called submersion) only 33 percent of the time in reading achievement, but 64 percent of the time in language achievement, and 35 percent of the time in math achievement. Transitional bilingual education was *better* than doing nothing 22 percent of the time in reading achievement but only 7 percent of the time in language achievement and nine percent of the time in math achievement. In short, although Thomas and Collier try to justify this on other grounds, they analyzed only the subject area where bilingual education is most successful.

ATTRITION BIAS

Thomas and Collier claim to be studying the best implemented programs. Regardless of whether this is true, they *are* studying the best students since these are the only ones with test scores over a four-year period. This is called *attrition bias*, and it is a problem that all longitudinal studies have. It can lead to misleading conclusions if the program is only effective for the most stable people but not for the whole population in the program. As with many issues in this report, Thomas and Collier are silent on the extent to which attrition bias might be a problem in their study.

NON-TESTING OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION STUDENTS

There is a huge differential testing bias in bilingual program evaluations that I have only recently become aware of—a much smaller percentage of the bilingual education students are tested than of the all-English LEP students. For example, the Los Angeles Unified School District recently reported higher achievement for students who had stayed in the bilingual program for five years compared to similar students in the mainstream, but almost 40 percent of the students in the bilingual program were thought to not know enough English after five years to be able to take the test. By contrast, 97 percent of the all-English program LEP students took the test (Zacaria, 1998).

Recent data from a fifty-four percent Hispanic school district of 17,000 students in California shows a similar pattern. In this district only 36 percent of the Spanish speaking LEP students, almost all of whom were in bilingual education, were tested, but 83 percent of the non-Spanish speaking LEP students, all of whom were in all-English programs, were tested. Similarly, in the Ramirez et al. (1991) study, 89 percent of the immersion strategy students were tested in the K–1 analysis, but only 61 percent of the early exit students were tested. In the grades 1–3 analyses, 42 percent of the immersion strategy students were tested, but only 29 percent of the early exit students were tested.[4] That study found no difference between the two programs, but this obviously underestimates the benefit of immersion and overestimates the benefit of bilingual education since it is the poorest students who are not tested and there are more untested students in the bilingual education program.

ENROLLMENT IN EACH ELEMENTARY SCHOOL PROGRAM

To reiterate, from over 700,000 student records, Thomas and Collier were able to identify 42,317 student records in four-year, five-year, six-year, and so on up to eight-year *overlapping* testing cohorts to demonstrate a "longitudinal perspective." Thus, the records analyzed actually represent 6 percent of the

total database and lots of different students at each point. Each line has an underlying long-term longitudinal cohort, with a series of overlapping shorter-term longitudinal cohorts. Each line in the graph represents a weighted average (which they do not explain) of all the cohort scores available at each grade level. The only data presented in the report are the six lines representing six programs in Figure 1 (Figure 6 in their report) and the two lines in Figure 8 in their report, for two high school ESL programs. (There are no students in bilingual education during high school.)

Although Thomas and Collier do not give us information on numbers of students in each cohort or program or grade, they do provide us with overall percentages. Three percent of the students were in two-way bilingual education (line one in Figure 1); 7 percent were in one-way developmental (or maintenance) bilingual programs (line two); 9 percent were in transitional bilingual education with ESL taught through academic content (line three); 17 percent were in transitional bilingual education taught "traditionally," which apparently includes ESL taught "traditionally" (line four); 13 percent were in ESL content (line five); and 51 percent were in ESL pullout (line six). These percentages also refute Thomas and Collier's claim that it is difficult to assemble a comparison group since 64 percent of the students in their sample were in a comparison group.

These overall percentages raise as many questions as they answer because Thomas and Collier do not tell us how they were calculated. The calculation of percentages is not trivial in a study that consists of different students in each grade. Furthermore, with only 3–7 percent of the students enrolled in the developmental bilingual education programs, one can only wonder how many students actually had eleven years of data—it is not inconceivable that there were virtually none. This would explain why no sample sizes are shown for each grade and program.

PROGRAM DEFINITIONS

Two-way Developmental Bilingual Education

Thomas and Collier define two-way bilingual education as follows: "language majority and language minority students are schooled together in the same bilingual class, and they work together at all times, serving as peer teachers" (p. 58). Both the 90–10 (ninety to one hundred percent Spanish in Kindergarten and first grade, reaching fifty/fifty by fourth or fifth grade) and the 50–50 (Kindergarten to fifth grade, half a day in Spanish) are included in the two-way bilingual education models. Thus, programs using very different amounts of Spanish are lumped together.

Many people who have looked at these data, including advocates of bilingual education, believe that Thomas and Collier combined the test scores of native speakers of English and limited English proficient students. Most people are willing to say it only verbally, but Kathryn Lindholm has put it in writing. She cites Collier's discussion of bilingual education theory (1995) and the findings of the Thomas and Collier study of 1995 for the proposition that

> ...the results of the Spanish and English speakers are aggregated rather than separated by language group (Christian, Montone, Lindholm & Carranza, 1997; Collier, 1995). (Lindholm, 1998:4)

Yet, Thomas and Collier do not admit to this, and their brief discussion states that they only looked at limited English proficient students:

> ...It is important to remember that this figure represents cohorts of students who start school with the same general background characteristics—i.e., no proficiency in English and low socio-economic status as measured by eligibility for free or reduced lunch. (pp. 53–54)

School districts that do break data down by Spanish and English native speakers have the following test scores for Hispanic and white students in two-way immersion programs.

Table 2 contains data from the Hernandez two-way bilingual programs in Boston. Where there is no data means there were less than seven students who took the test (or knew enough English to take the test). In grades one through three, apparently less than one-third of Hispanics in the school knew

Table 2
Reading Test Scores (Metropolitan) for Hispanic and White Students at Hernandez Two-way Bilingual School, Boston, MA, May 1993

		GRADES							
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Hispanics:	Reading Score	—	—	—	43	30	30	25	39
	Enrollment	*(26)*	*(26)*	*(25)*	*(25)*	*(22)*	*(19)*	*(10)*	*(15)*
Whites:	Reading Score	—	88	98	—	—	—	—	—
	Enrollment	*(5)*	*(9)*	*(7)*	*(5)*	*(6)*	*(2)*	*(0)*	*(3)*

Note: No data means less than seven students took the test.
Source: Boston Public Schools (1994).

Table 3
Reading Test Scores (CAT 5) for Hispanic and White Students by Language Proficiency at the River Glenn Two-way Bilingual School, San Jose, CA, Spring 1997

		Language Fluency Classification			
		LEP	FEP	English Only	TOTAL
Hispanics:	Reading Score	20	41	33	
	Enrollment	*(150)*			(283)
Whites:	Reading Score	—	—	65	
	Enrollment	*(0)*	*(0)*	*(113)*	*(113)*

Source: San Jose Unified School District (1998).

Table 4
Reading Test Scores in Grade Equivalents (CAT) for Hispanic and White Students in the Amigos Two-way Bilingual Program, Cambridge, MA, Spring 1991

		Grades		
		1	2	3
Hispanics:	Reading Score	1.29	3.11	2.87
	(% Tested)	*(46%)*	*(67%)*	*(47%)*
Whites:	Reading Score	1.30	5.09	4.70
	(% Tested)	*(67%)*	*(100%)*	*(86%)*

Source: Cazabon, Lambert, and Hall, (1991), p. 8, 14–16.

enough English to take the test. In the later grades it might be only slightly more than that. The Hispanic students who know enough English to take the test in this well regarded, two-way bilingual program are scoring at the 39th percentile even as late as eighth grade. But virtually all English speakers take the test and they do superbly—average scores between the 88th and 98th percentiles.

Table 3 shows the results for Hispanic and white students by language proficiency at the River Glen Two-way Bilingual School in San Jose, California. The Hispanic achievement in this two-way bilingual program is similar to the

Hernandez School—it ranges from the 20th to the 41st percentile. Across all language proficiency levels, Hispanic students in this school are low scorers, about half that of the whites.

Table 4 shows English reading achievement data expressed in grade equivalent scores for Hispanic and white students in the Amigos Two-way Bilingual program in Cambridge, Massachusetts. In the spring of the year, a grade-level score (i.e. the 50th percentile)[5] for first grade would be 1.7, for second grade it would be 2.7, and for third grade it would be 3.7. The Hispanic students in this two-way bilingual program are below grade level at each grade. The whites are also below grade level in English in first grade when most of the instruction is still in Spanish. By second grade they are well above grade level and have twice the achievement of the Hispanic students.

As these data make clear, the Hispanic students in well-regarded, two-way bilingual programs in real school districts score only about half as well as white students and well below the Thomas and Collier Hispanic achievement data, even though only the top Hispanic students are tested. Even in the Hernandez School in Boston, which has data through eighth grade, Hispanic test scores are at the 39th percentile, not the 55th that is shown in Thomas and Collier's graph. Since their data do not match the Hispanic achievement found in other well-regarded, two-way bilingual programs, it is not surprising that people believe Thomas and Collier have combined the test scores of whites and Hispanics.

One-way Developmental Bilingual Education

Historically referred to as maintenance bilingual education or late-exit bilingual education, Thomas and Collier define one-way developmental bilingual education as "academic instruction half a day through each language for Grades K–5 or 6" (p.58). Originally planned for Kindergarten through twelfth grade, it has rarely been implemented beyond elementary school level in the U.S. Although one-way developmental bilingual education programs are nine points below the two-way programs, they are twelve points above transitional bilingual education. Some of this advantage for developmental programs (one-way and two-way) might be self-selection bias.

Thomas and Collier present no statistics on the social class or English fluency of the students enrolled in these programs. However, published reports from school districts with two-way programs indicate that developmental bilingual programs are likely to have significant numbers of fluent-English-speaking Hispanics enrolled in them in order to develop their Spanish. For example, according to a survey of students conducted in the Cambridge Amigos pro-

gram, 41 percent of the fifth and sixth grade Spanish Amigos and 53 percent of the fourth grade Spanish Amigos hardly ever or never speak Spanish at home with their parents or brothers or sisters. This suggests that they started the program as fluent English-speakers and come from homes where English is the medium of communication.

In addition, the Hispanic students in developmental programs tend to be of higher social class. In San Jose, for example, only 29 percent of the Hispanic students in the River Glenn two-way bilingual program are eligible for free or reduced lunch compared to the district percentage for Hispanics of 67 percent.

Transitional Bilingual Education (TBE) Plus Content

Also called "early-exit bilingual education," Thomas and Collier define this approach as "academic instruction half a day through each language and gradual transition to all-majority language instruction in approximately 2–3 years" (p. 58). Again, I quarrel with their definition. The early exit programs I am familiar with teach almost completely in Spanish in kindergarten. In first grade they teach reading and writing in Spanish and all subject matter in Spanish with only an hour or so a day of English. In second grade, some subject matter may be taught in English but only if there are no new non-English-speaking students. In short, the first two years of these early-exit programs are almost completely in Spanish, although their goal is to transition the students to an all-English program as soon as possible. Thus, my experience is that the major difference between developmental and transitional (or early-exit) bilingual education in the first two years is the goal, not the amount of English.

English-as-a-Second Language (ESL)

Thomas and Collier describe ESL as coming in two forms:

1. ESL academic content, taught in a self-contained classroom (also referred to as sheltered instruction or structured immersion) which varies from a half-day to a whole-day; and
2. ESL pullout which varies from 30 minutes per day to a half day or at the secondary level from one to two periods per day.

In Figure 1 (Figure 6 from their report), line five is ESL academic content and line six is ESL pullout.

WHY A DESCRIPTIVE COHORT ANALYSIS IS NOT A METHODOLOGICALLY ACCEPTABLE DESIGN

None of the major research reviews have accepted a descriptive cohort analy-

sis of the type Thomas and Collier offer as scientific evidence of the effectiveness of a program. A descriptive cohort analysis is generally unacceptable because it consists of different students at each point in time and there is no control for student characteristics.

In Appendix 2, I demonstrate how it is mathematically possible for the average achievement for a bilingual program to increase from fourth through eleventh grade (eight years) even though each individual student in the program experienced a decline over the four years of testing. I produced this phenomenon by doing just what Thomas and Collier did—I overlaid a series of about ten or so sets of four years of hypothetical achievement data beginning and ending at different points in the eleven year grade-span for each program.

I was able to do this so that each individual cohort had the opposite pattern of the overall average for each grade. For example, each hypothetical student in the two-way bilingual education program had a decline in achievement over their four or so years of data, but the overall average for each grade in the bilingual program went up dramatically. Conversely, each hypothetical student in the ESL pullout program had an increase in achievement over their four years or so of data, but the overall average for each grade in the ESL program went down across the whole eleven years. This mathematical phenomenon is well known among social scientists trained in statistics, and it is why the methodology used by Thomas and Collier—a simple descriptive cohort analysis—is not a valid means of evaluating programs and will continue to be rejected by scientists.[6]

SECONDARY SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT

Thomas and Collier do not analyze bilingual education programs at the secondary level because they feel there are not enough years to warrant analysis. As with the chart on elementary school programs, they present no data whatsoever on the school districts, schools, and students, and there are no statistical analyses of any kind. There are two programs analyzed—ESL through academic content (sheltered subjects) and ESL with traditional approaches, shown in Figure 8 of their report. Again, they examine only reading achievement. The descriptive cohort analysis shows these students apparently began school in fifth or sixth grade and by the eighth grade were scoring at the 20th percentile. By eleventh grade, they are at the 36th percentile in ESL through content and the 25th percentile in ESL taught traditionally. All of the important problems identified in the elementary school program analysis apply to the secondary school analysis.

CONCLUSIONS

The Thomas and Collier study has two serious flaws. First, it uses a methodology—a simple descriptive cohort analysis—that is unscientific and that can produce misleading results as I have demonstrated in Table 5. The method is unscientific because each grade consists of different students, the number of students in each grade is not given and could be quite small, there is no statistical control for pretreatment differences, the programs are elementary school programs, but the test scores shown after elementary school are of different students from those in the elementary programs. Even if they were the same students, it would be hard to imagine how a program that a student participated in years earlier would influence him or her without controlling for the student's characteristics and the characteristics of his or her current school and program. Equally as egregious is the fact that Thomas and Collier have admitted they selected only the trends that they thought "assumed some generalizability."

The second serious flaw in the Thomas and Collier report is that they explain very little about their methodology. They present no data whatsoever on their sample or any statistical analyses. Normally a federally funded grant would have a final report that included at a minimum, dozens of tables in the text and in appendices with the characteristics of the sample, their outcomes, and the methodology used. This report has virtually no data in it and sets a new low in federal grant reporting.

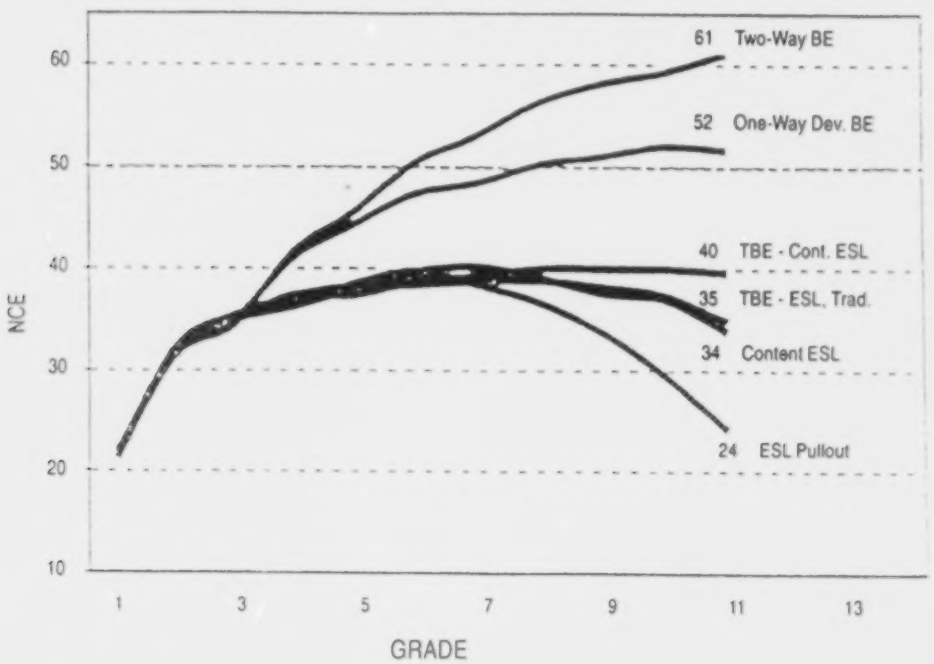
NOTES

1. I say "so-called Collier study" because in reality the study is co-authored with Wayne Thomas, a fact which is usually absent from the public discourse on the topic.
2. There is probably no issue on which people are more confused than the issue of what standardized achievement tests mean. These tests are constructed and the questions selected in order to produce a bell shaped curve wherein students are rank ordered into one hundred different categories. By definition, half the students will score at or below the 50th percentile no matter how good a job the U.S. educational system (the norming group) has done in educating children and no matter how intelligent and knowledgeable the students are. Similarly, 30 percent of the students will score at the 30th percentile or below no matter how smart the population as a whole is. These tests are useful, however, for comparing alternative programs since the limitations of the tests—that is that they only rank order students—is a constant across programs.
3. In their 1995 press release, Thomas and Collier report that they have acquired the data-set and, *where* appropriate, *combined* the results with those from their school district sites.

4. This is calculated by dividing the number of students with pre-test data in the Kindergarten through first grade and first through third grades analyses combined for each program type (Ramirez et al. [1991], Table 13, p. 60 and Table 14, p. 61 in Volume II) by the number of students who were initially in the study in each program type (Table 11, p. 51 in Volume I).
5. One of the many issues that people are confused about is what grade level means. It has no absolute meaning. It simply means the fiftieth percentile for that grade, and it is a mathematical definition that only one-half the student population can be at grade level.
6. Unfortunately, this is a technique that is used widely by school districts, and it is one of the many ways in which they are their own worst enemy. For example, school districts are constantly disseminating trends in achievement data that show declining achievement. Since each year consists of different students (perhaps one-half to two-thirds are the same from one year to the next), it is possible for each student to have an increase in achievement, but the overall average to go down because the top scoring students have left the school system. These data are then used by the press and elected officials to criticize school districts for doing a poor job of educating students when in fact the exact opposite may be true.

APPENDIX 1

Averages from Thomas and Collier's Figure 6 Produced by Hypothetical Individual Cohort Data that have Reverse Trends: Elementary Programs



APPENDIX 2

An Example of What is Wrong with a Cohort Analysis

In Table 5, I demonstrate mathematically why a cohort analysis is unacceptable. I have taken the approximate averages from Figure 1 (Figure 6 of Thomas and Collier) and created hypothetical data that produces these averages. I maintained Thomas and Collier's parameters (p. 54):

- A minimum of four years of data;
- First tested in fourth grade;
- At least one long-term cohort "confirming the general longitudinal pattern"; and
- One type of program during the elementary years.

I also maintained the overall average for each program in each grade.

The overall averages for each program in each grade, produced by the hypothetical cohorts I created, are reproduced as a graph in Appendix One so the reader can confirm that these averages do indeed produce trends in achievement that are virtually identical to those in Thomas and Collier's graph in Figure 1. This visual comparison of the graphs is necessary because Thomas and Collier present no data whatsoever in their report. The only thing we have to go on are the lines in the charts. As one can see, the two graphs look the same because I have closely approximated the averages for each program.

The first program listed in Table 5 is the two-way bilingual education program. I have created thirteen hypothetical cohort records of achievement of equal weight with a minimum of four years. Since these students were apparently first tested in grade four, there are no data for grades one to three and the average is simply entered at the bottom with identical numbers for all the programs—22, 32, 35—to approximate the curve in their graph. The first cohort I have created has scores for seventh to eleventh grade, the second cohort for sixth to eleventh grade, the third cohort for fourth to eighth grade, and so forth. The column marked "Change, 4th to last" is calculated for each individual cohort from their first score to their last score.

The average for each grade is simply the sum of the student achievement scores for that grade, regardless of the fact that each grade is composed of different students at each point in time. This is what a cohort analysis is. To illustrate for fourth grade—the average of 42 at the bottom is the sum of 20, 45, 55, 25, 10, 65, 57, 55, and 42 divided by nine (the number of students with scores for that grade). This is computed in the same way for each grade. From fourth to

Table 5
Trends in Average Achievement at Each Grade from Thomas and Collier's Figure 6 Produced by Hypothetical Individual Cohort Achievement Data with Reverse Trends: Elementary Programs

Programs		Grades											Change	
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	4th-Last	6th-Last
Two-way Bilingual Education														
	Cohort 1							75	62	66	62	61	-14	-14
	Cohort 2						85	85	69	64	65	61	-24	-24
	Cohort 3				20	17	16	20	18				-2	2
	Cohort 4				45	45	40	41					-4	1
	Cohort 5				55	56	45	51					-4	6
	Cohort 6				25	24	23	22					-3	-1
	Cohort 7				10	6	6	8					-2	2
	Cohort 8				65	66	65	55					-10	-10
	Cohort 9				57	53	55	55	51	50			-7	-5
	Cohort 10						85	85	74	58			-27	-27
	Cohort 11					90	75	80	62	61	60		-30	-15
	Cohort 12				55	52	59	60	59	50	50		-5	-9
Representative Cohort →	Cohort 13				42	45	50	53	56	58	59	61	19	11
Possible Scores of Students not Tested				3	5	3	6	7	10	11	13	16	14	13
	Average	**22**	**32**	**35**	**42**	**45**	**50**	**53**	**56**	**58**	**59**	**61**	**19**	**11**
	Avg. of 1–12	**22**	**32**	**35**	**42**	**45**	**50**	**53**	**56**	**58**	**59**	**61**	**19**	**11**
Developmental BE														
	Cohort 1				18	15	15	14					-4	-1
	Cohort 2				45	40	35	35					-10	0
	Cohort 3							70	55	51	52	52	-18	-18
	Cohort 4				60	54	53	52					-8	-1
	Cohort 5					48	41	40	36				-12	-5
	Cohort 6						78	72	60	51	52	51	-27	-27
	Cohort 7					64	62	56	50				-14	-12
Representative Cohort →	Cohort 8				41	44	47	48	50	51	52	52	11	5
Possible Scores of Students not Tested				3	5	3	6	7	10	11	13	15	12	13
	Average	**22**	**32**	**35**	**41**	**44**	**47**	**48**	**50**	**51**	**52**	**52**	**11**	**4**
	Avg. of 1–7	**22**	**32**	**35**	**41**	**44**	**47**	**48**	**50**	**51**	**52**	**52**	**11**	**4**

Table 5 (continued)

Programs		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Change 4th-Last	Change 6th-Last
TBE + Content ESL														
	Cohort 1				18	18	18	18					0	0
	Cohort 2				30	29	28	30					0	2
	Cohort 3				38	33	34	35					-3	1
	Cohort 4				54	50	46	46					-8	0
	Cohort 5				47	48	46	42					-5	-4
	Cohort 6							56	45	39	40	39	-17	-17
	Cohort 7					34	33	32	30				-4	-3
	Cohort 8						56	46	45	41	40	40	-16	-16
	Cohort 9					50	49	49	40				-10	-9
Representative Cohort →	Cohort 10					37	39	39	40	40	40	40	3	1
Possible Scores of Students not Tested				*3*	*5*	*3*	*6*	*7*	*10*	*11*	*13*	*14*	*12*	*13*
	Average	**22**	**32**	**35**	**37**	**37**	**39**	**39**	**40**	**40**	**40**	**40**	**3**	**0**
	Avg. of 1–9	**22**	**32**	**35**	**37**	**37**	**39**	**39**	**40**	**40**	**40**	**40**	**3**	**0**
TBE + ESL Traditional														
	Cohort 1				25	24	23	25					0	2
	Cohort 2				33	33	33	33					0	0
	Cohort 3				43	43	43	43					0	0
	Cohort 4				42	42	42	42					0	0
	Cohort 5					45	45	46	45				0	0
	Cohort 6				39	39	39	39					0	0
	Cohort 7						43	44	41	43			0	0
	Cohort 8						36	37	35	36			0	0
	Cohort 9							40	38	38	40		0	0
	Cohort 10				42	42	42	42					0	0
	Cohort 11							35	35	36	35	35	0	0
Representative Cohort →	Cohort 12				37	38	38	39	39	38	37	35	-2	-3
Possible Scores of Students not Tested				*3*	*5*	*3*	*6*	*7*	*10*	*11*	*13*	*14*	*12*	*13*
	Average	**22**	**32**	**35**	**37**	**38**	**38**	**39**	**39**	**38**	**37**	**35**	**-2**	**-3**
	Avg. of 1–11	**22**	**32**	**35**	**37**	**38**	**38**	**39**	**39**	**39**	**37**	**35**	**-2**	**-3**

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Table 5 (continued)

Programs							Grades						Change	
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	4th-Last	6th-Last
ESI through academic content														
	Cohort 1				34	36	39	39					5	0
	Cohort 2				34	36	39	39					5	0
	Cohort 3				40	42	50	51					11	1
	Cohort 4						28	30	32	40			12	12
	Cohort 5							30	31	32	34	34	4	34
	Cohort 6							40	40	40	43		3	43
	Cohort 7								25	29	34	34	9	34
	Cohort 8						40	46	47	47			7	7
	Cohort 9				37	38	42	47	60				23	18
Representative Cohort →	Cohort 10				36	38	40	40	39	38	37	34	-2	-6
	Average	**22**	**32**	**35**	**36**	**38**	**40**	**40**	**39**	**38**	**37**	**34**	**-2**	**-6**
	Avg. of 1–9	**22**	**32**	**35**	**36**	**38**	**40**	**40**	**39**	**38**	**37**	**34**	**-2**	**-6**
ESL Pullout taught traditionally														
	Cohort 1				39	40	41	42					3	1
	Cohort 2				30	42	44	45					15	1
	Cohort 3				40	40	42	49	75				35	33
	Cohort 4							45	48	50	54		9	9
	Cohort 5					32	32	42	55	59			27	27
	Cohort 6								18	25	26	29	11	11
	Cohort 7							8	14	17	19	22	14	14
	Cohort 8								10	17	19	22	12	12
Representative Cohort →	Cohort 9				36	39	40	39	37	34	30	24	-12	-16
	Average	**22**	**32**	**35**	**36**	**39**	**40**	**39**	**37**	**34**	**30**	**24**	**-12**	**-16**
	Avg. of 1–8	**22**	**32**	**35**	**36**	**39**	**40**	**39**	**37**	**34**	**29**	**24**	**-12**	**-16**

eleventh grade the students in the two-way bilingual education program have on average a remarkable 19 point gain—approximately the same gain shown in Thomas and Collier's chart, Figure 1 of this article. What is interesting about this is that, although the average for each grade shows a gain over time, every single student in the bilingual program had a decline in achievement from the time they were first tested to the time they were last tested (except cohort thirteen which was inserted to maintain the rule that at least one cohort must demonstrate the underlying or average trend).

In fact, the so-called "representative" cohort has no impact on the average. If I remove cohort thirteen, the average for the program at each grade is exactly the same. This is shown in the table in the row "average of 1–12." I put this row in to demonstrate that Thomas and Collier's concern for identifying a cohort that was representative of the trend for the program means nothing because the representative cohort has no effect on the average. There is no one who would declare a program a success that had all (or 92 percent) of its students with achievement declines. Yet, the averages for the program "demonstrate" it is a success, with or without the one cohort that shows the same trend as the average.

There is a final line for the bilingual education programs consisting of hypothetical scores of students not tested, which is not calculated as part of the average for the program. I have inserted the probable scores of non-test-takers to give the reader an idea of what these averages might look like if the low-scoring untested bilingual education students were included in the computation. This row is not inserted for the ESL programs because almost all of these students are tested.

The next program in Table 5 is developmental bilingual education. There are eight cohorts with an average gain from fourth to eleventh grade of eleven points. Not quite the "gain" of the two-way bilingual programs, but still impressive. Moreover, by the seventh grade the students are supposedly scoring above the national norm. Yet, as with the two-way bilingual education program, every cohort but one (the one inserted because it is identical to the underlying trend) shows a large decline in achievement over the course of the program.

The next program in Table 5 is "TBE + Content ESL"—transitional bilingual education with the English language taught through subject matter taught in English (contrary to bilingual education theory). Again the individual cohort data is the reverse of the average for the whole program at each grade. Two cohorts showed no change from the first to the last test, seven cohorts showed a decline, and only one cohort showed a gain. Despite the fact that 90 percent

of the cohorts showed no change or a decline, the average across all cohorts is a small gain.

"TBE + ESL Traditional" is the next program in Table 5. Knowing how hard it is to determine what a program actually is without going into the classroom, I cannot imagine how Thomas and Collier were able to divide TBE programs into two types—those that had ESL pullout and those that had "content ESL." As is typical of this report, they do not tell us.

Although only one of the cohorts in this program had a decline in achievement and 92 percent showed no change, the average for the program is a decline. Again, the average is representative only of the one cohort that demonstrated the underlying trend and, of course, the averages are the same with or without the representative cohort.

The last column in Table 5 shows the decline from sixth grade on for these cohorts and for the whole program. Again, although none of the individual cohorts showed a decline, across all cohorts there was a three-point decline from the sixth grade.

The next program in Table 5 is ESL through academic content. Every cohort in this program, except the representative cohort, showed a gain from the first test to the last test. Yet, the program shows a small decline from fourth to eleventh grade. Similarly, every cohort showed a gain, some of them quite large, from sixth grade to the last test, but across all cohorts there was a decline of six points from the sixth grade.

The final program in Table 5 is ESL pullout taught traditionally. Every cohort, except the representative cohort, showed a gain, some of them quite large from fourth grade on. Yet, the program as a whole is considered a failure—because it has a twelve point decline. From sixth grade on every cohort showed a gain, some of them quite large; however, the program as a whole had a sixteen point decline!

In short, Table 5 demonstrates how overall averages for each grade can be produced by shorter individual cohorts with exactly the opposite trends. It is for this reason that a simple descriptive cohort analysis is not a valid means of evaluating programs and will continue to be rejected by scientists.

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The Labor Market Effects of Bilingual Education Among Hispanic Workers

Mark Hugo Lopez and Marie T. Mora

Abstract

During the past few decades there has been a rapid increase in the number of limited-English-proficient individuals in the U.S. If language deficiencies inhibit educational progress and labor market outcomes, schooling programs like bilingual education have long term economic implications. We first discuss some elements of the debate over bilingual education programs. Then, utilizing data from *High School and Beyond*, we find that first generation and (to a lesser extant) second generation Hispanics who attended a bilingual education program appear to earn significantly less than otherwise similar English-immersed peers who received monolingual English instruction, *ceteris paribus*.

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Introduction

Recent growth of the language minority population has shifted the linguistic distribution in the United States. For example, the U.S. decennial censuses report that the population share of residents aged five years and older who speak a non-English language at home rose from 11 to 13.8 percent (from approximately 23 million to 31.5 million individuals) between 1980 and 1990. Moreover, the portion of language minorities who report speaking English either "not well" or "not at all" increased from 18.3 to 21 percent during this time (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1984, 1993). The inflow of immigrants from non-English-speaking countries as well as the relatively high fertility rates of U.S.-born language minorities account for most of this shift.

While social scientists have consistently shown that English proficiency enhances schooling attainment, earnings, and occupational sorting in the U.S., less empirical attention has focused on the educational vehicles by which limited-English-proficient (LEP) students acquire English skills. Changing linguistic demographics indicate that U.S. schools face the task of instructing larger numbers of children with poor English fluency. Indeed, recent estimates suggest that LEP students represent at least five percent of all K–12 public school children (Han et al. 1997).

Schools have responded to growing numbers of LEP children by instituting a variety of bilingual education programs. Such programs, however, are costly. Recent data report that between $2 billion and $3 billion are spent per year on special educational services for LEP students at the state and local level in the U.S. (ALEC Foundation 1994). Additionally, despite the fact that the U.S. Department of Education receives federal on-budget funds for bilingual education programs, widespread disagreement exists over its relative effectiveness. Some analysts argue that bilingual education efficiently provides LEP children the opportunity to learn English and the course material simultaneously (e.g., Krashen 1996), while others argue that such programs delay English skill acquisition and the subsequent attainment of improved socioeconomic positions by these students (e.g., Porter 1996; Chavez 1991).

In what follows, we first discuss some of the key issues regarding the bilingual education debate. We then empirically analyze some of the labor market implications of bilingual education for Hispanic LEP students utilizing the 1980–1992 longitudinal surveys from the *Restricted-Use High School and Beyond* (HSB) data files. We focus on Hispanics because they comprise the vast majority of the language minority population in the U.S. and are expected to become this nation's largest racial/ethnic group in less than a decade.[1] Moreover, Hispanics represent the largest share (nearly three-fourths) of bilingual education participants in the U.S. (Fleischman & Hopstock 1993).

Debate Over Bilingual Education and Its Socioeconomic Implications

Consider two mainstream methods to educate language minority students:

1. Monolingual instruction in English; and
2. A hybrid approach using both English and the minority language, i.e., bilingual education.[2]

States and school districts have traditionally designed and implemented bilingual education programs, at times with the help of the federal government. While most bilingual education programs are funded at the state and local level, federal funding has been made possible through the *Bilingual Education Act*—Title VII of the *1968 Elementary and Secondary Education Act* (U.S. Department of Education 1992).

As with most publicly funded programs, bilingual education is not without debate.[3] Individuals in favor of bilingual education assert that instruction in two languages allows for cognitive skill development in the minority language;

these skills eventually transfer to the English-speaking domain of the student. Moreover, this view contends that bilingual education serves as an integral ingredient for increasing LEP students' educational attainment and achievement. Finally, supporters contend that monolingual English instruction denies LEP students their opportunity for equal education given that class material is presented in an unfamiliar language. Legally, *Lau vs. Nichols* (1974) provides support for this view: the Supreme Court ruled that school districts failing to provide understandable instruction for LEP students obstruct these students' rights to equal educational opportunity (see Meier & Stewart 1991; Donato, Menchaca & Valencia 1991).

Proponents of monolingual English instruction argue that English immersion is the most efficient method to integrate LEP students into an English-oriented society.[4] One primary concern of bilingual education opponents includes the segregation of LEP students into separate classrooms or schools, which limits contact with English fluent students and decreases the likelihood of assimilation into predominately English-speaking environments. Public school segregation has been nationally outlawed since *Brown vs. Board of Education* (1954).

Finally, an alternative view of bilingual education posits that despite possible *theoretical* benefits, bilingual education programs are not effective in practice. An analogy can be made that in the pre-*Brown* era, segregated schools were theoretically "separate but equal"; in reality, they were not. While conceptually bilingual education programs involve teaching course material and English simultaneously, in practice this may not be the case. Much of this conviction arises because many teachers do not receive appropriate training for instructing LEP students (see Han et al. 1997), and may teach students to speak a language outside of the realm of the bilingual education course.[5] Moreover, the placement of recent immigrants into advanced bilingual education classes with students in the same age group may delay the English progress of these students because teachers must revert to a strong usage of the minority language to accommodate the new students (Glenn 1997).

This long-standing debate over bilingual education has recently intensified. For example, in early June 1998 voters in California decided to end bilingual education by passing Proposition 227—"English for the Children." This proposition eliminates most bilingual education programs in the state, and proposes placing LEP students in intensive sheltered-English-immersion classes that would generally last one year. The current population growth of language minorities warrants the belief that outcomes from such an initiative will have increasingly widespread educational and socioeconomic implications.

While the bilingual education debate is far from resolved, rigorous empirical methods can be utilized to investigate the effectiveness of bilingual education *vis-á-vis* English immersion programs. Many existing bilingual education studies do not rely on sound empirical methods to determine effectiveness,[6] and instead focus on teacher perceptions and simple unadjusted comparisons between bilingual education and non-bilingual education students in the short-run and as case studies. Very little research explores these programs at a national level, and even fewer studies discuss their long-term socioeconomic repercussions.[7] As Card and Krueger (1992) have suggested, "success in the labor market is at least as important a yardstick for measuring the performance of the educational system as standardized tests." Therefore, studies primarily focusing on short-run bilingual education outcomes may overlook the temporal and intergenerational implications that could arise several decades after the programs have been implemented.

For example, Hispanics, particularly recently-arrived immigrants, earn less on average than non-Hispanic whites in the United States. During the past few decades, social scientists have determined that a major source of this earnings gap stems from differences in human capital investment, particularly the relatively low education levels and limited-English proficiency of Hispanics.[8] The influence that bilingual education has on both educational attainment and English-skill acquisition could affect future labor market performance.

Clearly, higher schooling levels relate to subsequent economic success. Like education, acquiring English proficiency may be viewed as a human capital investment because communication skills increase production and consumption possibilities (e.g., McManus, Gould & Welch 1983); it follows that English fluency enhances potential output and earnings. Moreover, researchers have observed that English skills appear related to other socioeconomic aspects, such as occupational sorting (Mora & Dávila forthcoming; Powers & Seltzer 1998; Jasso & Rosenzweig 1989), schooling attainment (Espenshade & Fu 1997; Stevens 1992), and labor force participation (Schoeni 1998; Stier & Tienda 1992).

English proficiency acquisition also possesses intergenerational properties to the extent that parents transfer English skills to their children (see Stevens 1985). If bilingual education affects the English fluency or schooling attainment of an LEP child today, these skills (or lack thereof) may not only alter that child's future socioeconomic status, but also the potential status of future generations. In what follows, we do not test for the intergenerational effect of bilingual education; however, the reader should keep this issue in mind.

HIGH SCHOOL AND BEYOND DATA AND SAMPLE SELECTION

Given the well-documented labor market role of English proficiency, it seems reasonable to expect that native language instruction programs affect LEP students' future employment opportunities. If bilingual education programs are relatively more successful than English immersion, bilingual education participants should subsequently earn more on average than their otherwise similar counterparts. Using information from the *Restricted-Use High School and Beyond* (*HSB*) data set, we now compare the earnings between Hispanic workers who took bilingual education at some point during their primary and secondary school years and their corresponding peers who received monolingual English instruction.

The Data

In 1980, the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) sponsored the *High School and Beyond* study to obtain a national longitudinal data set of sophomore and senior high school students; follow-up surveys have since been conducted in 1982, 1984, 1986, and 1992. One major strength of *HSB* includes its wealth of information on students' background and language use,[9] academic and high school characteristics, and work experience.

The advantage of using *HSB* over other national education data sets stems from the fact that labor market outcomes are observed one decade after high school completion.[10] One disadvantage with *HSB*, however, includes the selection group of the base-year survey: high school sophomores and seniors. Educational attainment and labor market results analyzed using *HSB* may be affected by a censoring-bias associated with the fact that many minorities, such as Hispanics, drop out prior to the tenth grade (Boozer 1992).

Defining the Sample of Analysis

Ideally, one could conduct a randomized experiment to evaluate schooling programs. However, given limited resources and the difficulties with implementing any randomized experiment at a national level, we are limited to employing available survey data. Our first task involves delineating a comparison group of students against whom we can compare statistically similar bilingual education program participants. Then, controlling for observed differences between both groups, we can infer the average effect of bilingual education programs on income.

To define the sample of students which comprises both the comparison and treatment groups, we attempt to follow guidelines used by many states to select which students qualify for bilingual education. While the determination of bilingual education enrollment varies between states and even within

school districts, in 1991–1992 forty-seven states (all except Alaska, Hawaii, and Nebraska) used a home language survey as part of their LEP identification process (U.S. Department of Education 1992; Henderson, Abbott & Strang 1994). The home language survey typically asks parents and/or students about the household language as well as the first language of the student. After completing this survey, language minority students are assessed on their native language and English proficiency through examinations and teacher evaluations. Recommendations for bilingual education generally depend on these assessments, with parents often (but not always) consulted on the enrollment decision.

While *HSB* does not contain data on students' English fluency at the time of initial enrollment in the U.S. school system, it provides information loosely equivalent to a home language survey. Specifically, students were asked a series of five questions related to language usage in the base year (1980) questionnaire:

1. What is the first language you spoke?
2. What other first language did you speak?
3. What language is spoken in your home today?
4. What other language is spoken in your home today?
5. What language do you speak most often today?

If a student reported a non-English language in at least one of these questions, we define the individual as being "at risk" for assignment to a bilingual education classroom.[11] Thus, we analyze the subset of individuals who could have been classified as LEP at some point during their schooling careers, and hence were potential candidates for participating in bilingual education. *HSB* further includes in the 1980 survey a series of questions answered by the "at risk" students related to language acquisition, proficiency, and prior bilingual education course work in grades one through six, seven through nine, and ten through twelve.

In this article, we focus on Hispanic workers reporting income in the 1992 restricted-use follow-up survey who were high school sophomores in 1980, and had participated in the *HSB* follow-up surveys. Of the 2,142 Hispanics in the 1992 survey with earnings, we exclude 844 from our analysis who are not "at risk" for receiving bilingual education. The non-"at risk" students most likely would not have qualified for a bilingual education program, and it would be inappropriate to directly compare them to bilingual education participants. In all, our sample includes 1,298 individuals, the majority of which were 28 years old when completing the 1992 follow-up survey.

Defining Bilingual Education Participation

We first broadly define program participation by using data on whether students who took English classes for non-English speakers had received instruction in other academic subjects (such as mathematics) in a non-English language in grades one through six, seven through nine, and ten through twelve.[12] Because this measure of bilingual education may not accurately distinguish between all types of programs (see Note 2), we additionally refine our measure to differentiate between English as a Second Language (ESL) participation and Transitional Bilingual Education (TBE) in which the student received academic instruction in his native language.

***High School and Beyond* Sample Summary Statistics**

Table 1 contains demographic information on the "at risk" Hispanic sample in *HSB*. We also include summary statistics for the bilingual education and non-bilingual education participant sub-samples.

Note that over 39 percent of the "at-risk" sample participated in bilingual education (mostly in TBE programs), with the vast majority of participants were first exposed to bilingual education in the first through sixth grades. Moreover, it is interesting to note that average earnings are slightly higher for the bilingual education participants than the non-bilingual education sample, $19,421 versus $19,179.[14] Also of interest, bilingual program participants tend to have more months of labor market experience and slightly less education than English-immersed students. These results suggest that bilingual education participants may leave school earlier and enter the work force sooner than non-bilingual education students.

When bilingual program participants are compared to the English instruction sample other characteristics of interest appear. Bilingual education recipients appear more likely to possess the following characteristics:

1. Be first generation immigrants;[15]
2. Reside in lower socioeconomic status (SES) households;
3. Score in the lower quartiles of the standardized exams administered by HSB; and
4. Have been held back a grade at some point during their schooling careers.

These summary statistics reaffirm other work on the national profiles of students in bilingual education reported elsewhere.[16]

Table 1
Demographics of "At Risk" Hispanic Workers in the Restricted-Use *High School and Beyond* Data Files

	All	Bilingual Ed Non-Participants	Bilingual Ed Participants
Bilingual education	0.396	—	1.00
ESL	0.121	—	0.306
Transitional Bilingual Ed	0.275	—	0.694
BE 1st exposure: Grade 1–6	0.304	—	0.768
BE 1st exposure: Grade 7–9	0.061	—	0.154
BE 1st exposure: Grade 10–12	0.029	—	0.073
Avg. 1990–91 earnings	$19,275	$19,179	$19,421
(standard deviation)	(13,395)	(14,253)	(11,985)
Months of job experience by 1991	62.033	60.522	64.335
	(16.850)	(18.212)	(14.244)
Years of education	12.877	13.045	12.621
	(1.674)	(1.076)	(1.493)
School dropout after 10th grade	0.141	0.127	0.163
Held back a grade	0.098	0.080	0.126
Immigrant Generation:			
First	0.134	0.095	0.193
Second	0.148	0.152	0.141
Second/third	0.128	0.144	0.103
Third	0.436	0.467	0.384
Lowest SES quartile in 1980	0.447	0.406	0.509
Second SES quartile in 1980	0.230	0.230	0.229
Third SES quartile in 1980	0.163	0.198	0.109
Highest SES quartile in 1980	0.118	0.133	0.095
Lowest 1980 exam quartile	0.319	0.223	0.466
Second 1980 exam quartile	0.233	0.259	0.193
Third 1980 exam quartile	0.184	0.241	0.097
Highest 1980 exam quartile	0.107	0.136	0.062
Number of observations:	1,298	827	471

Source: Authors= tabulations from the *Restricted-Use High School and Beyond (HSB)* base year (1980), first follow-up (1982), and fourth follow-up (1992) surveys. See text for sample restrictions and "at-risk" definition used in this study.[13]

Empirical Framework and Results

To model the effect of bilingual education on earnings using *HSB*, we control for an extensive list of observed personal and school characteristics from the 1980 survey. Using these control variables, we estimate an ordinary least squares (OLS) model for the natural logarithm of average earnings from 1990 and 1991 (y_i) as:

$$y_i = X_i\beta_1 + HS_i\beta_2 + BE_i\gamma_o + \varepsilon_i$$

where X_i denotes personal characteristics including years of education completed, experience, and experience-squared from the 1992 survey;[17] and gender, immigration status (generation and immigrant's time in the U.S.), family income, family size, parental education, home ownership status, region, and urban status from the 1980 survey. To control for schooling quality differences that may affect earnings,[18] we include HS_i which represents a vector of high school attributes (such as the pupil-teacher ratio, starting teacher salary, per pupil expenditures, shares of the student body which are Latino, African American, and LEP, and public/private school status). Finally, *BE* is a binary variable which equals one for those who participated in bilingual education (and equals zero otherwise), with γ_o representing the average bilingual education treatment effect.

If the equation captures all of the characteristics correlated with bilingual education selection and earnings, γ_o will represent a consistent estimate of the effect of bilingual education on earnings, *ceteris paribus*. We realize, however, that there may be omitted from the equation some unobservable factors that determine bilingual education participation such that the estimated coefficient on γ_o may be biased; however, the direction of the bias is unclear. On the one hand, many times parents decide whether or not to place their children into a bilingual education program, and in some school districts, bilingual education participation begins through the parents' initiative (Crawford 1989). In this case, one might expect positive selection (and hence an overestimate of γ_o) because children in bilingual education have parents who are more involved in their education. On the other hand, recall from Table 1 that a higher share of the bilingual education students reside in low SES households, drop out of school, and fall into lower test quartiles than the English-immersed students. These findings may suggest negative selection into bilingual education, such that γ_o will be biased down. Our choice of the additional control variables should reduce the extent of the bilingual education selection bias, but we acknowledge there may be unobserved factors not statistically controlled for in the equation.[19]

Empirical Results

Table Two presents the regression-adjusted results from estimating the equation for different sub-samples of the "at risk" students. Concentrating on Column 1, bilingual education participants earned approximately $17,292 dollars a year on average in 1990 and 1991, compared to $17,040 for their equivalent non-bilingual education participants. While on the surface bilingual education participants appear to earn more, the difference is not statistically different from zero.

Table 2
Regression Adjusted Earnings Differences between Bilingual Education Participants and Non-Participants by Immigrant Status: Hispanic Workers in HSB

	Full Sample (1)	First Generation (2)	Second Generation (3)	Third or More Generation (4)
Bilingual Education	$17,292	$18,478	$18,886	$17,292
No Bilingual Education	$17,040	$24,200	$23,513	$17,516
Approximate Difference	1.0%	-31%*	-24.5%*	-1.3%
Number of Observations	1,298	216	253	645

*Statistically significant at the one percent and five percent level.

Source: *Restricted-Use High School and Beyond (HSB)* base year (1980), first follow-up (1982), and fourth follow-up (1992) surveys. See text for sample restrictions and "at-risk" definition used in this study. [20]

Closer scrutiny of the sample, however, indicates that Column 1 hides large differences in the measured effect of bilingual education programs for students born outside of the U.S. When dividing our Hispanic sample by generation of immigration, some very surprising and striking results appear (see Columns 2 through 4).[21] In Column 2, we find that first generation students who participated in bilingual education programs earn significantly less (approximately 31 percent less) than their otherwise similar English-immersed peers—$18,478 compared to $24,200. Focusing on second generation students, we observe a similar negative (but smaller in magnitude) difference between bilingual education and English program participants—$18,886 compared to $23,513. In sum, first and second generation students who participated in a non-English language assistance program at school earned significantly less ten years after high school than their English immersed counterparts. Among

third generation students in Column 4, we observe a statistically insignificant bilingual education effect similar to that reported in the first column.

While the results for immigrants in Table 2 seem surprising, we realize that the measure of bilingual education we employ is broad. To investigate potential differences between programs, we present empirical results comparing English as a Second Language (ESL) programs against transitional bilingual education (TBE) in Table Three.

Table 3
Regression Adjusted Earnings Differences between ESL, Transitional Bilingual Education (TBE) Participants and Non-Participants by Immigrant Status: Hispanic Workers in *HSB*

	Full Sample (1)	First Generation (2)	Second Generation (3)	Third or More Generation (4)
ESL	$17,212	$19,674	$21,712	$14,012
TBE	$17,041	$17,664	$18,227	$19,462
No Bilingual education	$17,040	$24,200	$23,513	$17,516
Approximate Difference				
ESL vs. No BE	1.0%	-23%	-8.3%	-25%
TBE vs. No BE	0.01%	-37%*	-29%*	10%
TBE vs. ESL	-1%	-11%	-19%	28%*
Number of Observations	1,298	216	253	645

* Statistically significant at the one percent and five percent level.

Source: Restricted-Use High School and Beyond (HSB) base year (1980), first follow-up (1982), and fourth follow-up (1992) surveys. See text for sample restrictions and "at-risk" definition used in this study. [22]

As in Table 2, we observe very small, and indistinguishable earnings differences between the ESL and TBE recipients for the entire "at risk" sample. When analyzing earnings for students in the same generation of immigration, we find that for first generation students, TBE students earned significantly less on average between 1990 and 1991 than their equivalent English-immersed peers. For example, Hispanic immigrants who were schooled bilingually earned approximately 37 percent less than their English-immersed peers. A similar story can be told for second generation students. We note that despite

the broadly defined bilingual education measure employed in Table 2, the results in Table 3 reaffirm that first and second generation participants in TBE programs earned less on average than their English-immersed counterparts. As in Table 2, Table 3 shows no statistically discernible differences among third generation Hispanics.

Table 4
Occupational Distribution of "At Risk" Hispanic Workers in the Restricted-Use *HSB* Data Files Across Bilingual Education Participants and Non-Participants

Occupation	Non-Participants	Bilingual Education Participants
Clerical	0.187	0.153
Craftsman	0.032	0.047
Farmer	0.000	0.001
Laborer	0.139	0.201
Management	0.161	0.136
Military	0.023	0.010
Skilled Operative	0.033	0.065
Professional	0.088	0.082
Owner of a Business	0.018	0.013
Protective Services	0.025	0.029
Sales	0.076	0.052
Teaching	0.018	0.010
Service	0.060	0.059
Technical	0.024	0.025
Number of Observations	827	471

Source: Authors' tabulations from the *Restricted-Use High School and Beyond (HSB)* fourth follow-up. See text for sample restrictions and "at-risk" definition used in this study.[23]

One potential explanation for the earnings differences between bilingual education and non-bilingual education participants may be reflected in their occupational distributions. To illustrate, Table 4 displays the unadjusted occupational distribution of bilingual education and English-immersed students in our "at risk" sample. Note that a higher share of Hispanics who received bilingual education are employed in "blue collar" occupations, while they are less likely to work in clerical, sales, and "white collar" professions than non-bilingual education students. Such a result intimates that students

who receive bilingual education may be sorted into lower paying jobs; future research should empirically investigate this facet. However, controlling for occupational status in Equation 1 does not eliminate the observed differences between bilingual education and ESL participants. These additional results are available from the authors.

Discussion of Potential Caveats

Conditional on a host of observed background characteristics, our empirical results suggest that first and second generation Hispanic students who went through some type of bilingual education (particularly TBE) appear to earn significantly less than their English-immersed counterparts. Such findings are alarming because newly arrived immigrants represent the population most likely be placed into bilingual education programs.

While our findings are striking and seem robust, we must discuss several potential caveats. First, the results presented in Tables 2 and 3 may be biased because of an unobserved selection process we cannot replicate. However, we have addressed selection as best as possible by adjusting the earnings figures for differences in observed personal, family, and school characteristics. Also, Lopez (1998) has more thoroughly analyzed the selection issue and finds that bilingual education selection based on unobserved traits seems relatively weak.

Second, some analysts may argue that our measure of bilingual education is too broad. Fortunately the *HSB* data allows for identification of two programs, namely ESL and TBE. Recall that Table 3 supports our results obtained using the broad measure in Table 2. In particular, we find that TBE programs are associated with the largest earnings differences among first and second generation students.

Third, we realize that our "at-risk" sample may not accurately represent the set of potential bilingual education participants, since it may contain some students who would not have qualified for participation in a bilingual education program (see Note 11). Clearly, we would prefer to eliminate these students from our analyses, but unfortunately cannot systematically do so. Nevertheless, recall that Tables 2 and 3 present results for all "at-risk" Hispanics, as well as for the sample partitioned by immigrant generation. Recently arrived immigrants with a minority language background represent the most likely candidates for being "at-risk" for bilingual education participation. Our results obtained using the immigrant sample are therefore all the more tenable since this group would have the greatest likelihood of being "at-risk." Moreover, while the "at-risk" non-bilingual education students represent our comparison group against which to measure bilingual education programs,

we also compare ESL and TBE programs across bilingual education participants (see Table 3) in case the ESL student sample is contaminated with those who would not have qualified for bilingual education. We find that among program participants, ESL students seem to have higher adjusted earnings than first and second generation immigrants in TBE, but lower adjusted earnings among third generation students.[24] While these differences are not statistically significant, possibly because of the small ESL sample sizes, it appears on the surface that TBE students earn less than their ESL counterparts.

Fourth, another potential dilemma is that students in the *High School and Beyond* sample would have enrolled in bilingual education during the 1970s. While the structure of bilingual education programs may have changed over time, we doubt the existence of a substantial difference between programs today and those implemented in the 1970s. Current programs seem substantially oversubscribed compared to those in the past as schools struggle to provide adequate services for all LEP students in a period of rising immigration.

Despite these caveats, however, if future research refines our analyses and reaffirms our findings, the labor market implications of bilingual education programs are not positive. For example, given that Hispanics tend to earn relatively less than their non-Hispanic white peers, the results presented here indicate that bilingual education programs may compound the Hispanic earnings gap. Moreover, bilingual education may *indirectly* influence socioeconomic outcomes via its impact on human capital acquisition, occupational attainment, or through the assimilation of immigrants. In all, future analysts cannot afford to ignore the potential long-term consequences of bilingual education when designing educational policies for limited-English proficient children.

CONCLUSION

In this paper we have discussed some of the potential labor market outcomes associated with bilingual instruction for the largest group of program participants: Hispanics. Our findings suggest that when examining "at risk" Hispanic students, individuals who receive bilingual education at some point during their educational careers do not appear to earn significantly more or less than their otherwise similar peers who were English-immersed, *ceteris paribus*. However, further exploration of the impact of bilingual education programs on immigrants' labor market income suggests an entirely different picture. The more recent a student's generation of immigration, the worse off Hispanic bilingual education participants appear to be with respect to earnings. This is a disturbing finding in that immigrants from non-English-speaking countries *conceptually* have the most to gain from bilingual education programs.

The story regarding the long-run impact of bilingual education is far from over. We note that because of the strong link between earnings and human capital (such as education and English proficiency) as well as the intergenerational properties of language acquisition, bilingual education programs may indirectly impact future labor market outcomes. If our results can be convincingly replicated, schooling programs like bilingual education may widen the socioeconomic gap between LEP and English proficient populations over time.

One element that future research should explore is to test empirically whether bilingual education crowds students into lower status jobs, as Table 4 suggests. Moreover, because our sample only includes working individuals, future studies may wish to investigate the link between bilingual education and labor force participation; extant research has found a link between English skills and participating in the labor market (e.g., Schoeni 1998; Stier & Tienda 1992). Another aspect to be addressed is whether or not bilingual education creates an earnings gap as workers mature in the labor market. Recall that the average age of the 1992 *High School and Beyond* sample is twenty-eight years, which may be relatively young to fully witness the long-term labor market effects of bilingual education. Finally, it may be of interest to test whether non-Hispanic immigrants experience the same tendencies as Hispanics.[25]

Schooling programs designed for LEP students have become increasingly important, given the current demographic shift away from monolingual English populations in this country. Also, because Hispanics (particularly recent immigrants) have been well documented to earn less than non-Hispanic whites on the basis of relatively low human capital investments, insights into the determinants of educational attainment and English skill acquisition have greater implications for the U.S. as a whole as this group becomes the largest racial/ethnic minority population. Policy makers should be aware that schooling policies designed for limited-English proficient students enacted today will affect the economic opportunities of increasing segments of the population far into the twenty-first Century.

NOTES

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1. In 1996, Hispanics comprised 10.5 percent of the total population in the U.S.

By 2005, their population share is projected to be 12.6 percent, compared to the projected 12.4 percent share of non-Hispanic African Americans in this country (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1996).

2. Although we use *bilingual education* to refer to schooling programs that utilize both the minority and majority languages, the reader should be aware of the tremendous amount of heterogeneity among these programs (see U.S. Department of Education 1992). Most programs (80 percent) in this country are the "one-way" (transitional) program, in which students are taught the class material in both languages; the use of the minority language is discontinued once students learn the majority language. English as a Second Language (ESL) is a special form of the "one-way" program, in which students attend English-only classes for part of the day, and receive English instruction in the minority language during the rest of the day. A "two-way" (bilingual/bi-cultural) program integrates both language-minority and language-majority students in the same class; each group learns the other's language and cultural characteristics. The *technical* definition of bilingual education used by policy makers and educators for funding purposes excludes ESL programs.

3. For studies that contain some of the elements of the bilingual education debate, see for example, Baker and de Kanter (1981), Ovando (1989); Willig (1985); Crawford (1989); Meier and Stewart (1991); Chavez (1991); Donato, Menchaca and Valencia (1991); Rodgers (1995); Porter (1996); Krashen (1996); Glenn (1997); Lopez (1998); Greene (1998); and Mora (1998b).

4. Ibid.

5. For example, some Chinese-speaking students in San Francisco have been placed in Spanish-English bilingual classes (Headden 1995).

6. Willig (1985) and Greene (1998) represent exceptions as they utilize meta-analysis on a selected set of prior bilingual education studies to determine the relative effectiveness of such programs.

7. See Lopez (1996, 1998) and Mora (1996, 1998b) for studies that discuss the potential influence of bilingual education programs on subsequent labor market outcomes.

8. For a classic discussion on the labor market role of English skills, see McManus, Gould & Welch (1983). Examples of other work include Jasso and Rosenzweig (1989); Dávila, Bohara & Sáenz (1993); Chiswick & Miller (1995); Trejo (1997); Mora (1998a); and Mora & Dávila (forthcoming).

9. The language survey employed by *HSB* was initially developed by the Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs (OBEMLA) with assistance from the Office of Management and Budget (NCES 1982).

10. For example, the NCES has also conducted the National Education Longitudinal Study of 1988 (NELS: 88), in which the base-year survey includes eighth graders. Although longitudinal, the recency of NELS: 88 prevents us from

observing the labor market outcomes for many of the surveyed students because they have not yet entered the formal labor market.

11. We realize this sample may not truly represent all "at-risk" students. Consider a student residing in a household in which English is the primary language, but some Spanish is also spoken; our sample specification would define this student "at risk." Unfortunately, since school districts may have different methods beyond the home language survey to determine both LEP status and bilingual education selection, we cannot obtain the actual selection criteria and systematically remove these students, and hence are limited to our definition.

12. While *HSB* also provides data on minority language reading and writing abilities, we do not include this information because it is unclear if the respondent is referring to foreign language classes (So 1983).

13. These summary statistics are weighted using the fourth follow-up from *HSB*. Some categories do not sum to one because of missing observations or rounding error. Earnings are calculated as the average of an individual's real earnings in 1990 and 1991; see text for a discussion of the construction of this variable.

14. We estimate earnings as the average of an individual's earnings in 1990 and 1991. For individuals with information on one year, we use earnings reported in that single year as the individual's average earnings measure. We avoid including income reported for 1992 because the survey was conducted in the spring of that year, such that 1992 annual earnings would either be estimated or truncated depending on the respondent's interpretation of the question.

15. We define immigrant generation as first (in which both the student and parents were born abroad), second (only the parent[s] had been born abroad), and third (both the student and parents were born in the U.S., and includes students whose families have been in this country for generations). The "second/third" category in Table 1 denotes missing information regarding whether the student is second or third generation.

16. For example, see Lopez (1998); Mora (1998b); Han et al. (1997); Henderson, Abbott & Strang (1994); Board of Education of the City of New York (1994); and McArthur (1993).

17. Unfortunately, with *HSB* we are unable to observe the educational experience of students outside of the U.S. and, thus, cannot control for the years of education individuals may have received in other countries.

18. Welch (1966) represents one of the first studies to explore the relationship between schooling quality and earnings; other researchers such as Card and Krueger (1992) have recently analyzed this issue.

19. To further address the issue of selection when estimating the equation, we utilize an instrumental variables technique and a Heckman approach with

the level of state legislation and federal funding at the high school as instruments. However, we do not report these results here since they do not significantly alter the basic findings reported below, and also because the validity of the specific instruments is in question (Lopez 1998). Moreover, we attempt to estimate the effect of bilingual education by the timing of a student's first exposure (not shown), and do not find a statistical difference.

20. The above models are estimated using OLS with the log of average earnings in 1990 and 1991 as the dependent variable. The above figures (in dollars) are weighted using *HSB*'s fourth follow-up cross-sectional weight. The "Third or More" immigration generation column includes individuals classified as "second/third" in Table 1. See the text for a discussion of the construction of the bilingual education participation variable. Other controls include job market experience (in months) and experience-squared, personal variables (marital status, gender, years of education, region and urban status of high school, 1980 family income level as five binary variables, parental education level as ten binary variables, and home ownership in 1980, categorical variables for immigrant generation and years since arrival), 1980 high school general characteristics (racial composition of the high school, starting teacher's salary, per pupil district expenditures, the pupil/teacher ratio, and whether or not the school is private), and a set of academic characteristics representing the 1980 academic achievement quartile. The average age of sample members is twenty-eight. Individual immigrant generation groupings do not sum to the full sample number of observations since we are unable to identify immigrant status for all sample members.

21. Tables 2 and 3 suggest that first and second generation students earn more on average than third generation students, *ceteris paribus*. The occupational distribution of these students explains the difference; when controlling for vocation in the equation, regression adjusted differences between recent immigrants and U.S. natives vanish. Because occupational attainment is endogenous, however, we do not include it in our reported regression adjusted earnings figures. Future studies should explore the occupational-sorting mechanism of the first and second generation students who received some schooling in the U.S.

22. The above models are estimated using OLS with the log of average earnings in 1990 and 1991 as the dependent variable. The above figures (in dollars) are weighted using *HSB*'s fourth follow-up cross-sectional weight. The "Third or More" immigration generation column includes individuals classified as "second/third" in Table 1. See the text for a discussion of the construction of the bilingual education participation variable. Other controls include job market experience (in months) and experience-squared, personal variables (marital status, gender, years of education, region and urban status of high school, 1980 family income level as five binary variables, parental education level as ten binary variables, home ownership in 1980, categorical variables for immigrant generation, and years since arrival), 1980 high school general character-

istics (racial composition of the high school, starting teacher's salary, per pupil district expenditures, the pupil/teacher ratio, and whether or not the school is private), and a set of academic characteristics representing the 1980 academic achievement quartile. The average age of sample members is twenty-eight. Individual immigrant generation groupings do not sum to the full sample number of observations since we are unable to identify immigrant status for all sample members.

23. Categories do not sum to 1.00 because of rounding errors and missing data. All results are weighted using the fourth follow-up cross-sectional weight.

24. We find it surprising that third generation students are enrolled in ESL programs and TBE programs. While we can not explain why third generation students participated in particular programs, we suspect that third generation students in ESL classes were enrolled for reasons other than their limited English proficiency.

25. Preliminary analysis by Lopez (1998) on the non-Hispanic population of *HSB*'s language minority students suggests no statistically significant links between bilingual education participation and earnings.

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New Insights: A Review of Ruben Rumbaut's "Transformations: The Post Immigrant Generation in an Age of Diversity"

Paul Hollander

The study examined here, Ruben Rumbaut's "Transformations: The Post-Immigrant Generation in an Age of Diversity,"[1] is largely based on two massive survey research projects which together form the *Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study*.[2] The first survey began in 1992 and was followed in 1995–96 by a second survey of the same children located in the same areas. The findings provide striking documentation of differences among various newly arrived ethnic groups with special reference to the academic performance of their children. The data makes clear that few generalizations can be made about recent immigrants which apply across the board while it provides many welcome factual answers regarding the attitudes, aspirations, beliefs, strengths and weaknesses of the new immigrants and, especially, the young among them. In the words of Rumbaut, the project focused "on changes observed over time in language, identity, ambition and achievement" (p. 5) among the immigrants and especially their children.

While there is a certain amount of public awareness of the differences among different groups of immigrants, this study offers impressive documentation of them. For instance, "among adults over 25, Mexican immigrants had the lowest educational levels of any major U.S. ethnic group, native or foreign born" (p.6) and it is not entirely clear why this should be the case. Many readers may be surprised to learn that Filipinos are the second largest immigrant group in the country after Mexicans, and even less familiar is the finding that Filipinos have the lowest poverty rates of all sizable ethnic groups (p. 6). That such is the case is not exceptional given the fact that "41 percent of Filipino mothers have college degrees, well above [U.S.] national norms" (p. 7). Many readers may also be surprised to learn that "the Indochinese have very low rates of labor force participation indicative of their eligibility and use of public assistance." At the same time "Cubans, Jamaicans, Filipinos, and the 'Other Asians' are most likely to have one or both parents working as professionals" (p. 7).

It is far better known that Asian Americans tend to have intact and cohesive families. As is confirmed by this study, 75 percent of Asian-origin children

live with both biological parents at home, followed by Latin American families where the proportion of such children is 60 percent. Fewer than 50 percent of the Haitians and West Indians lived in intact families (p. 8).

In light of the recent California referendum on bilingual education and the long standing acrimonious debates preceding it, the findings regarding language preference are particularly interesting. The surveys reported in Rumbaut's study indicate that "73 percent of the total sample preferred to speak English instead of their parents' native tongue, including 64 percent of the foreign born youth and 81 percent of the U.S. born" (p. 9). In the second, later study these figures increased to a total of 88 percent, including 83 percent of the foreign born and 93 percent of the U.S. born (p. 9). To what extent these preferences were also reflected in competence or fluency is not made quite clear: the reported positive linguistic self-evaluations (p. 9) might not have been necessarily realistic. But if they were, the controversies over bilingual education would lose much of their importance. In any event, Rumbaut firmly believes that there is a "pattern of rapid linguistic assimilation [that is] constant across nationalities and socioeconomic levels" (p. 10). Even more striking, he reports that business leaders in Florida of late complained "about the dearth of fluent Spanish bilinguals among the children of Latin immigrants" (p. 11). Of course, it is possible that while the native language competence has withered, proficiency in English remained limited, a possibility not explored in this paper.

Another interesting finding concerns identification by national origin. In 1992, 41 percent chose a hyphenated American identification; 27 percent identified by national origin; 11 percent opted for plain "American"; and 17 percent selected what the author Rumbaut calls pan-ethnic identities such as Hispanic, Chicano, Asian, or Black (p. 11). However, in 1995 the combined foreign identifications rose to a total of 48 percent, and plain American fell to 2 percent. This is interpreted as a backlash against perceived anti-immigrant sentiment in California at the time. In reviewing both the Florida and California survey results Rumbaut concludes that "change over time...has not been toward assimilative mainstream identities...but rather toward a more proudly militant or nationalistic reaffirmation of the immigrant identity...and toward pan-ethnic minority group identities..." (p. 13).

Over time there was an increase in reports of discrimination experienced as the respondents were asked, for example, to agree or disagree with the statement: "No matter how much education I get, people will still discriminate against me" (p. 14). One may, however, interpret increasing agreement with such and similar statements as a form or result of acculturation; the longer the

immigrants in question lived here the clearer it may have become to them that the claim of being victims of discrimination is supported by a guilt-ridden dominant culture that sees itself as racist. Belief in the multiplicity of victim groups is also encouraged by elite groups and institutions. Hence, it may be the right thing to say in a survey that one belongs to one of them. But in spite of all 60 percent and 72 percent of the youths in the two surveys agreed with the statement: "There is no better country to live in than the United States" (p. 15).

Expressions of ambition on the part of those surveyed are also noteworthy. Asked what their parents' expectations were for their educational futures, the students felt that their parents expected them to achieve at a higher level than that to which they themselves aspired: while 44 percent of the students expected to attain an advanced degree, 65 percent of their parents expected them to do so; and while 18 percent of the children expected to stop short of a college degree, only 7 percent of the parents held such a low expectation (p.16).

Another interesting, and perhaps unexpected, finding of the survey was that about 80 percent of the sample reported spending more than an hour each day on homework and over 40 percent spent over two hours daily, well above the national U.S. average of less than one hour per day (p. 17). Contrary to many dire speculations about the performance and academic fate of immi-

Table 1
Multi-year Dropout rates, Miami-Dade and San Diego School Districts, by Race-Ethnicity and Gender: All Students District-wide vs. Children of Immigrants (CILS) (Grades 9–12)

	Total	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian	Male	Female
Miami-Dade Schools							
All Students:	17.6	13.6	20.2	17.8	8.7	19.7	15.3
Children of Immigrants (CILS)	8.9	7.8	7.5	9.2	6.5	9.5	8.4
San Diego Schools							
All Students	16.2	10.5	17.8	26.5	9.9	17.1	15.4
Children of Immigrants (CILS)	5.7	*	*	8.7	4.5	5.9	5.6

grant children, their dropout rates are significantly below those of the non-immigrant children. Table 1 strikingly conveys these findings.

On the other hand, there are "very large differences in all educational outcomes by national origin" (p. 21). The Chinese rank the highest in terms of grade-point averages and have the lowest drop-out rates followed by those students from India, Japan, and Korea. Vietnamese and Filipinos come next, followed by Laotians and Cambodians, West Indians and Haitians, respectively. "Overall, the poorest performance was registered by Latin American youth," and, unexpectedly, the highest dropout rate is found among Cubans in Miami (p. 21). The author considers the latter an anomaly, Cubans being a highly assimilated group. Nevertheless, a diametrically opposed hypothesis can also be entertained, namely that precisely because of their high degree of assimilation they have come to share attitudes and a work ethic more widespread among the native born American students, one that is not conducive to stellar academic performance.

The importance of peer influence was another important finding: "The worst outcomes...were associated with having close friends who themselves dropped out of school or had no plans for college" (p. 24).

Not surprisingly, the study reaffirmed that children from intact families "with both natural parents present at home" do much better in school, have higher grades, lower dropout rates, and higher aspirations (p. 22), and youth with parents who have higher education and higher status occupations also perform much better than those without these assets.

Also, among the less surprising findings there is confirmation of the ill effects of television watching: "Students who spent a large number of hours in front of the television by age 14 were more prone to perform poorly in subsequent years" (p. 23).

There is at least one finding that casts doubt on the politically correct conventional wisdom which attributes great benefits to strongly felt (non-white) ethnic group identities:

> Pan-ethnic self-identities (e.g., Chicano, Latino) selected by age 14 in junior high were linked three years later with lower GPAs, somewhat higher dropout and inactive rates, and lower aspirations (but not with lower self-esteem or higher depression scores). No such effects were observed for any of the other types of ethnic identities.... That finding lends support to analyses that have pointed to the defensive development in the adolescent years of "oppositional" or "adversarial" identities which, while

> protective of self-esteem, disparage doing well in school as "acting white" and as a betrayal of ethnic loyalty. (p. 24)

The studies reported and analyzed by Rumbaut throw new light on the conflicting attitudes and conditions of immigrants and their children and on the substantial discrepancies between the academic performance and expectations of groups of different ethnic origins. Much remains to be learned about the roots of these differences. Certainly discrimination as such offers limited explanation of, say, why those of Mexican background (as a rule of lighter skin color) perform more poorly than West Indians or Haitians (as a rule, of darker skin color) when color is generally regarded as a major physical focus and stimulant of discrimination. But, if physical characteristics are an important determinant of discrimination, why are Asians (also visibly different) less discriminated against or, if they are not, how and why do they succeed in surmounting its debilitating effects? If immigrants as a whole, and especially those "of color" among them, constitute a disadvantaged minority (and as such are beneficiaries of protective legislation), why is their academic performance and motivation in many ways superior to those of the native born? In turn, this puzzle leads to important sociological questions:

- Why are the educational aspirations and motivation of native born American children relatively low?
- How do immigrant children (and native born alike) interact with an educational system characterized by shockingly low standards, especially at the secondary level? [3]

These observations further suggest that informative studies of immigrants such as were here discussed raise important questions whose answers will help us to understand not merely the condition of the newly arrived, but also direct attention to prevailing cultural trends in the U.S. and to the unresolved problems of major institutions of American society.

Rumbaut is especially interested in the long-term influence the children of immigrants[4] will exert on American society as they come of age. How will they handle the conflicting pressures between old-fashioned "Americanization" and the more recent exhortations to embrace "cultural diversity" that boils down to hanging onto their cultural roots in implicit opposition to the character of the new society they have joined?

This country differs from most, perhaps all others in recorded history because it came into existence as the result of the movement of large numbers of people to its territory; becoming an American was and still remains a matter of choice

for millions who continue to arrive year after year. Rumbaut reports that there are today 55 million people in the U.S. who are either immigrants or U.S. born children of immigrants. For the vast majority coming to what became the United States meant and continues to mean a new beginning, a break with the past or a drastic modification of it. As time went by and as the contours of the new society emerged and solidified, there was something to which the new arrivals could adjust, something to which they could assimilate. American society, although clearly showing its European roots, became a distinct entity.

During the past quarter century or so a new attitude emerged in this country among some of its elite groups toward the assimilation of immigrants, a belief that there is little need for such a process, that the new immigrants are better off if they retain as much as possible of their particular traditions, cultural beliefs, and even their language. For many among these elites the whole concept of being American has come to be seen as nebulous or worse.

The concept of "diversity" (or "multiculturalism"), which entails an admiration for and the alleged equivalence of the cultures and customs of the ethnic groups that make up this society (usually excluding white Americans of European origin), emerged in direct opposition to the notion that there is something distinctly American. By contrast, the older belief held that a unique American culture with a discernible and worthwhile identity had evolved. Based as it is upon some of the most noble Western ideals and aspirations, it was believed that assimilation into this identity was worthwhile.

It is one of the unrecognized paradoxes of recent American social history that increasing volumes of immigration during the past three decades (90 percent of the 27 million foreign born residents presently in this country came since 1960) coincided with a prolonged soul-searching and a (by now) institutionalized collective self-criticism in American society that began in the late 1960s.[5] While new immigrants of more diverse ethnic origins than ever before were eagerly entering this country (or awaiting entry), its social-institutional structure and traditional values were subjected to a withering domestic criticism, indeed a reflexive rejection on the part of various elite groups.[6] First and foremost among them have been academic intellectuals (or at any rate, substantial and vocal portions thereof) who specialized, as it were, in increasingly implausible elaborations of the allegedly unique evils of this society. Consequently, it has become conventional wisdom on college campuses that this is an exceptionally unjust, corrupt, and immoral society—or, more specifically, the most racist, sexist, elitist, patriarchal, and repressive society ever known in history. A vast number of academic programs, courses, and textbooks have come to be anchored in these beliefs and assumptions as have many laws and

regulations (state and federal) promulgated over the years. The rhetoric and some of the policies of many churches, foundations, publishing houses, television, and radio programs are colored by images of American inequities.

The multiplication of certified victim groups officially entitled to both preferential treatment and a special moral solicitousness are also closely connected to such critiques of American society since virtually all of these groups derive their grievances or disadvantages from social-cultural sources or are advised by their mentors to do so.[7]

Unlike in the past, new immigrants, if non-white or Hispanic, have been automatically and legally assigned the status and identity of *victim*, although due to their foreign origins they can hardly be regarded as victims of American society and its past or surviving misdeeds. At the same time, there is little evidence to suggest that the new immigrants generally think of themselves as victims, and much to suggest that their levels of motivation to succeed and to incorporate traditional American values into their lives exceeds those of the established, indigenous victim groups, such as blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Native Americans.

Over the years and decades, beginning with the protest movements of the 1960s, the critiques of American culture and society have increasingly broadened their scope until they finally have merged into an indictment of Western culture as a whole. Nonetheless, as the most egregious example of the alleged harm this culture has inflicted on the world, the United States has remained the prime target of such criticism.

The institutionalization of cultural diversity study programs in our colleges and universities is perhaps the most visible and widespread indicator of these attitudes and beliefs; whatever the actual "diversity" of these programs (and there has been little, as far as their central ideas and ideologies are concerned) they have in common a virulent rejection of the Western heritage of ideas, beliefs, and institutional arrangements. Anybody however remotely associated with American academic institutions knows that "Eurocentric" (essentially a substitute for "Western") has been a term of scorn and denigration for some time now on the campuses.

While the increasingly elaborate disparagement of American culture and society has flourished at home, immigrants unacquainted with these critiques, and presumably suffering from "false consciousness" (as the critics would have it), have persisted in their desire to come to these shores. In fact, whether legally or illegally, they continue to arrive in great numbers, seeking and usu-

ally finding a better life than that they left behind. Certainly in our time and perhaps throughout recorded history, no single country (its domestic denigration by intellectual elites notwithstanding) has attracted such numbers. It must be emphasized that these denigrations are not those of the majority of citizens, nor are they consistently reflected in the political realm except in the readiness to grant victim status to groups whose claims to victimhood is sometimes questionable.

While the domestic rejections of American society and the associated broader anti-Western sentiments have had no discernible effect on levels of immigration, they have had consequences for the outlook and assimilation of the newly arrived. To be sure, the critics of America cannot advise aspiring immigrants not to seek entry to this supposedly corrupt, unjust and exploitative society since the majority of them were and are escaping either dire poverty or political repression the likes of which they were not going to experience here, not even in the estimation of the most embittered social critics.

However, whether directly or indirectly, what the critics have been capable of conveying to the new immigrants is that they are well advised to preserve their ethnic, cultural and linguistic identity since assimilation to this society (a bad society) is basically undesirable. From the point of view of "the adversary culture"[8] new immigrants are welcome potential recruits to its ranks and are tacitly encouraged to refuse to assimilate, to preserve their ways and values in presumed opposition to the evils deeply rooted in American history, culture, and society.

Whereas in the past assimilation—that is to say, assimilation to Western values, beliefs, and institutional arrangements as modified by the American experiment and experience—was the taken-for-granted path for the new immigrants (alongside the preservation of some sentimental ties with the old country which played a small part in their emerging new identity) according to the new conventional wisdom, the pivotal source of identity of the new immigrants is their ethnicity and their language. Certainly the new emphasis on the desirability of ethnic (as well as gender and sexual) identification is not limited to immigrants; it also applies to the older residents and citizens of this country, a movement that began with the black separatism of the late 1960s. Under these circumstances bilingualism, too, became for the critics of America a tool with which to fight, or at least retard or limit, assimilation into a culture they disparaged.

Only in the light of an underlying animosity toward American society and Western values does the encouragement of ethnic, cultural, or gender separatism make sense. In effect, the various ethnic groups have been advised to

dissociate themselves from what used to be the dominant culture, its values and institutions; radical feminists have advised women to do likewise. "Celebrating diversity" has proven to be highly invidious, at first implying and now articulating the rejection of basic, conventional American beliefs or values of usually European origin.

While the domestic developments outlined above made no dent on the volume of immigration they increasingly have posed new questions as to what precisely the new arrivals should adjust or assimilate. By asking what it means to be an American they raise the key question as to what shared civic virtues and human qualities (if any) immigrants should aspire.

Rumbaut's study (among other sources of information) suggests that more than ever before it has become increasingly difficult to predict what impact immigration will have on cultural identity and coherence in this nation.

NOTES

1. Ruben G. Rumbaut, "Transformations: The post-immigrant generation in an age of diversity." A paper presented at the annual meeting of the Eastern Sociological Society, Philadelphia, March 21, 1998.
2. These projects "followed the progress of a sizable sample of teenage youths representing 77 nationalities in two key areas of immigrant settlement... Southern California and South Florida" (Rumbaut, p.4).
3. An astonishing recent illustration of these low standards was provided by the results of the new Massachusetts teacher certification tests which 56 percent of the new teacher candidates failed.
4. Forty percent of the immigrants who came since 1960 arrived as children under 18.
5. Paul Hollander examined these critiques in his *Anti-Americanism: Critiques at home and abroad*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1992; an updated edition was published by Transaction Books (New Brunswick, NJ) in 1995. For a study of some of the historical roots of the critiques of American society and culture see James W. Ceaser, *Reconstructing America: The symbol of America in modern thought*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997.
6. On such elite attitudes, see Robert Lerner, Althea K. Nagai, and Stanley Rothman, *American elites*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996.
7. On the victim phenomenon, see for example Robert Hughes, *The culture of complaint*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1993; Charles Sykes, *Nation of victims*, New York, St. Martin's, 1992; Joel Best, Victimization and the victim industry, *Society*, 1997, May-June; David Rieff, Victims all? Recovery, co-de-

pendence and the art of blaming somebody else, *Harper's*, October 1991; Paul Hollander, We are all victims now, *Wall Street Journal*, January 18, 1995.

8. Paul Hollander, *The survival of the adversary culture*, New Brunswick: Transaction, 1988.

Four Year Longitudinal Report for The English Acquisition Program in the Bethlehem Area School District

Ann Goldberg

A trend towards redesigning bilingual programs appears to be growing across the country, especially in California. The Bethlehem Area School District made such a change in the Fall of 1993, after almost twenty years of Spanish bilingual instruction for limited-English students. The following program description and longitudinal report will be useful to educators who are contemplating a change to English language instruction.

Brief History

During the 1992–93 school year, the district's superintendent, Thomas J. Doluisio, concluded that all language minority students must gain English fluency as quickly as possible if they are to receive the highest quality education. After extensive discussion with staff, with community leaders both Latino and non-Latino, and with experts across the country, presentations were made to the Board of School Directors, and the Board voted to change the former bilingual program to an English language approach. The goal of the Bethlehem Area School District English Acquisition Program, as stated by the Board of School Directors at its meeting on February 1, 1993, is to have all limited-English proficient (LEP) students become fluent in English in the shortest amount of time possible so that they may achieve academic success in school.

I became coordinator that summer and worked to prepare for implementation in September 1993 with texts and instruction in English for all students. The majority of bilingual education teachers participated in the new program as teachers of English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL). Many of these teachers were worried about the change, but plunged in wholeheartedly in the interest of their students. Most of the ESOL teachers are bilingual in English and Spanish; they use their Spanish to talk to parents and to clarify concepts. (A sentence or two in Spanish helps to make a difficult concept clear and is invaluable when welcoming a frightened newcomer.) The language of instruction and all instructional materials are in English.

The question is often raised: "How long does it take before English language learners can successfully enter mainstream classes?" The answer to this question is that from the first day of attendance in the Bethlehem Area School District our elementary school second language learners are in regular homerooms and mainstream classrooms.

Each year a new group of approximately 150 students who do not speak English enter our kindergarten classes; about 95 percent of them are speakers of Spanish. By second grade, the great majority of these students have fluent basic conversational skills in English but continue to need support for literacy development and advanced concepts. We monitor not only their oral language proficiency, but literacy skills. Our students learn reading and writing in English; their reading helps expand their oral vocabulary and their growth in oral language promotes reading comprehension. Many other students who transfer from their original schools in Puerto Rico, South America, Florida, New York, and elsewhere enter our district at higher grade levels. Most of these students enter at the beginner level of English language proficiency because they are unable to carry on a basic conversation in English.

A student exits our program when he or she can participate successfully in a regular classroom without support from an English to Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) program. Exit is determined by a team at each school, typically including the principal, the reading specialist, the ESOL teacher, and the classroom teacher. This team meets to discuss the evidence of achievement in all language skills (i.e., speaking, reading, and writing), informs the parent, and the student exits the program. Evidence of student readiness to exit the program includes a standardized assessment of reading comprehension, a writing sample, and oral language measures as described in our document Stages of Oral Language, Reading, and Writing (see *READ Perspectives* 2 (2), Fall 1995, Appendix A, 116–118).

INTERNAL PROGRAM EVALUATION

In response to a directive from the Bethlehem Area School District Superintendent of Schools, Thomas J. Doluisio, an Internal Evaluation Team met in 1996 to conduct an evaluation of our program. Surveys in Spanish and English were designed by the team and sent to all parents of students in the program. Parents replied anonymously and were given space to add their comments. Responses were mailed in pre-stamped envelopes to a neutral office, not to their child's school. We invited parents to tell us, honestly, how they felt about our program.

Eighty-one percent of parents of English Acquisition students stated that their

child has highly positive or positive feelings about school in the Bethlehem Area School District. Eighty-eight percent stated that their child's work was appropriate for his or her grade level. Although 31 percent of parents reported that they could not help their child with homework in English, 55 percent of parents reported that they spend more than a half hour a day helping their child with homework. Parents stated that their children have improved in the following areas: spoken language, written language, reading independently, and social interaction with peers. The most common remark written in the open ended section was in Spanish: *adelante*—meaning "go forward."

Separate surveys were designed for teachers and for students in the program. English Acquisition students and regular staff gave high ratings to the English Acquisition teachers who provide intensive support in oral language, literacy skills, and content area subjects.

Results of standardized test data showed that our elementary school students at the advanced level in English and our students who exited the program performed within the average band as measured by national norms.

We had concerns about a small group of high school students who did not have career goals and were not motivated by school. In response, we piloted a successful school-to-work program, bringing second language learners to a "shadowing" program at our local hospital two afternoons each week. Here the students rotate to forty-one areas of the hospital, work with fine role models, and become interested in post-high school opportunities in health careers. Their English and science curricula are related to the experiences they have in the hospital. These students have made outstanding gains in English proficiency, attitude, study habits, and motivation for school.

First year results of the special program for seriously at-risk high school students are as follows: sixteen limited-English students with low achievement were enrolled; three moved out of the district; and two did not complete the program. Four graduating seniors among the eleven in this school-to-work program were hired at the hospital and, in addition, are registered to continue their studies at the local community college. Both hospital staff and high school teachers are enthusiastic about this pilot program, which will be expanded and continued during 1998–99. Further details of this program are described in a Student Case History below.

LONGITUDINAL ANALYSIS

A recent analysis was conducted of students who entered our program while

it was being redesigned. During the 1993–94 school year, 349 students entered our program. Of this number, 232 were beginners in English proficiency. These students were unable to carry on a basic conversation in English and possessed very limited reading skills and no writing skills in English. Another sixty-four entered at the intermediate level. These students were able to carry on a basic conversation, but were unable to read or write in English well enough to study the content areas without support. Forty-three students entered at the advanced level. These students needed either the minimal support of the classroom teacher only or limited ESOL support to succeed in a mainstream classroom. Such a large group of entering beginner-level students poses a real challenge for teachers who must adapt the curriculum so that vital grade level academic concepts are learned.

Four years later, only 180 of these students are still enrolled in our district. The others have transferred to other school districts, often out-of-state, or returned to Puerto Rico. The mobility of our students limits our ability to ensure their rapid progress. It also frustrates teachers who often find that their classes in June contain only ten of the twenty or so students who had been there in September. Nevertheless, no matter how short the time available, Bethlehem's teachers are determined to make a perceptible improvement in their students' educational development.

Brief Description of Program Levels

Beginner-level students understand little or no English; over time they understand simplified speech with repetitions and rephrasing. Beginners may not read at all in English or may read some words and simple sentences but with little comprehension. Beginners may not write in English at all, but in time will write in phrases and simple patterned sentences.

Intermediate level students understand spoken English but require repetition and rephrasing. Their own speech may be hesitant, but consistent enough to carry on a basic conversation. They have difficulty with verb tenses and subject-verb agreement. They may also find the use of correct word endings to be difficult. In reading, intermediate students can retell the meaning of a simple passage. These students can write a concrete description of a picture/idea and have some knowledge of rules of punctuation.

Advanced level students understand most adult speech, with the exception of some complex grammatical structures. Though committing occasional errors in syntax, they can respond in detail. Their reading level is adequate to understand main ideas appropriate to grade level, but they may need ESOL support to understand advanced concepts in the textbooks. Although there are still

errors in their writing, advanced level students write good summaries, use compound and complex sentences, and demonstrate general control of subject/verb agreement and verb tense.

Competent students who exit the program are able to express themselves adequately to succeed in a regular education program without ESOL support, including reading texts and writing assignments appropriate to the mainstream classroom.

Within the beginner, intermediate, and advanced levels respectively, stages of achievement for speaking, reading, and writing are described in a district document. By requiring teachers to assess stages of student achievement in all these skills each November and June, staff can assess students' progress over time through reference to a district data base. Examples of this are given in the Student Case Histories below.

LONGITUDINAL DATA

Summary of the Longitudinal Data for Students who Remained for a Consistent Four Years

We studied the progress of the 180 students still present in the Bethlehem Area School District after four complete years of our program. Of this group who entered during the 1993-94 school year, one hundred students exited, thirty are at the advanced level, twenty-eight are at the intermediate level, and eight students are still at the beginner level. The remaining thirteen students are in special education. We've learned that most students who come to us unable to speak, read, or write English remain at the beginner level for about two years, the intermediate level for about a year or a year and a half, and the advanced level about another year before they exit. Students who know some English exit more rapidly, often within three years. Including both the exited and advanced level students as a group (and excluding the identified Special Education students), 83 percent of the 167 English Acquisition students are able to benefit from regular classroom instruction in English alongside native speakers and need either only minimal or no ESOL support at all after four years.

Summary of the Longitudinal Data for Students who Remained for Three Years

We studied the progress of the 198 students still present in the Bethlehem Area School District after three complete years in our program. Of this group of students who entered during the 1994–95 school year, sixty-four students exited, forty-eight students are at the advanced level, fifty-one students are at the intermediate level, and fourteen students are at the beginner level. The

remaining twenty-one students are in special education. Excluding the twenty-one Special Education students, the data on the remaining 177 students shows that thirty-six percent of the students exited within three years and twenty-seven percent are at the advanced level. A total of sixty-three percent of our students, both exited and at the advanced level, are able to fully benefit from regular classroom instruction with either only minimal or no ESOL support at all after three years.

Table 1
Longitudinal Data for Classes Entering in 1993–94 and 1994–95 Respectively

Level	Class entering 1994–95: 198 Students at end of three years	Class entering 1993–94: 180 Students at end of four years
Number of Students who have Exited	64 (32%)	100 (56%)
Number at Advanced Level	48 (24%)	30 (17%)
Number at Intermediate Level	51 (26%)	28 (16%)
Number at Beginner Level	14 (7%)	8 (4%)
Number in Special Education	21 (11%)	13 (7%)

Many more students than before have already been identified as in need of Special Education when they enter our district. This identification takes place in Puerto Rico, New York City, Florida, and the many other districts from which we receive transfer students. Upon review of each student's Individual Education Plan (IEP), our district places these students in an appropriate Special Education Program.

Intense ESOL instruction in the elementary school is provided for seventy-five minutes daily; the remaining five hours of the school day provide English immersion in regular classes. In the elementary schools, advanced level students are monitored but not taught by the ESOL teacher; help with advanced concepts is provided by the classroom teacher. Considering that most English Acquisition students enter as beginners, unable to speak, read, or write at all in English, this level of progress is very good. The re-designation rate for limited-English students to exit from bilingual programs in California, statewide, was 6.7 percent for 1997 (Debra Camillo, California State Department of Education). The goal of this program is success in the regular classroom; the majority of our students are achieving this goal after three or four years of support.

IMPLEMENTATION ISSUES

In the following pages, important implementation issues and our district responses to these issues are discussed. This discussion will be useful for districts that are planning a transition from bilingual education to structured English immersion.

Goal or Mission Statement

A new program requires a goal or mission statement endorsed by the administration and the Board of School Directors. The Bethlehem Area School District Board of School Directors in February 1993 stated that its goal is to have all limited-English proficient students become fluent in English in the shortest amount of time so that they may achieve maximum success in the Bethlehem schools. This publicly stated goal is an essential tool when groups, whether internal or external to the school district, argue for alternative purposes, such as the maintenance of the home language or proficiency in oral English only.

Placement Decisions for Students from the Former Bilingual Program to the New Program of Structured English Immersion

Bilingual and regular education teachers determined the placement of students from the former native language program into the new program's instructional levels. As a very general rule, students who were in Primary Language classes (taught in Spanish) were placed at the beginner level. Students who were in Sheltered English classes (where texts were in English but with Spanish language support) were placed at the Intermediate level. Students at the highest level, formerly called the ESOL level, were placed at the advanced level or evaluated for exit. Once the new program began in September 1993, the policy was for all newcomer students whose home language was a language other than English to register with the Center for Language Assessment where they were individually administered the LAS (McGraw-Hill) and a reading test to determine their language proficiency.

Criteria for determining student progress are developed and reviewed by professional staff. Decisions regarding a student's placement is at the school level, with monitoring and review by the Coordinator of the program.

Enrollment and Staffing Plan for Bethlehem Schools Since 1993

The original design team for the English Acquisition Program strongly endorsed the policy that all students, including second language learners, should attend their neighborhood schools. Parents and the children themselves prefer this option. This goal was balanced by the following factors:

- Space problems delayed the full implementation of the neighborhood school

plan for elementary level students. By the third year of the program all elementary school students were enrolled in their neighborhood or home schools. There are sixteen elementary schools in the district.

- Middle school beginner level students were not able to benefit from curriculum in regular classes at the sixth, seventh, or eighth grade level. These students needed sheltered instruction in English until they reach the intermediate level. One of the four middle schools was designated as the site for all beginner level students at the middle school level.
- High school classes designed to provide graduation credits could not be efficiently scheduled in both high schools; therefore, the solution was to require all high school English Acquisition students to attend one of the two large city high schools. The local community accepted this solution because of their familiarity with the high school ESOL program which had been in place and had been an English instructional program for many years.
- For efficient staffing, the district hired itinerant teachers in low impact schools with less than thirty-five English Acquisition students. In Bethlehem, ten out of sixteen schools were designated as low-impact. The ESOL teachers are all either full or half time and spend anywhere from two mornings a week to five mornings a week at a particular school. This flexible schedule depends on student numbers and proficiency levels within each school; as students entered or left a school, the teacher schedule was modified.

Middle School Modifications in 1997–98

After four years of following the original plan for beginner level students at the designated middle school, a problem became apparent. Beginner level students were reassigned to their neighborhood school once they reached the intermediate level of English proficiency. However, these students had become established with faculty and made friends in their school and were reluctant to move to a new school, even one closer to home. Once they moved to the home school, students found themselves trying to cope with both the more rigorous academic challenges and the lack of social support from friends. Some students exhibited behavior problems and a decline in academic skills, especially when this move occurred during the second semester. A modification to the original policy was made this year allowing beginners to move up to the next proficiency level while remaining at the same school until the end of the school year.

INSTRUCTIONAL ISSUES

In-service Training

Professional development for ESOL teachers and for regular classroom teachers is essential to the Bethlehem program's success. Classroom teachers, usu-

ally well meaning, need to know how best to assist the second language learner and to understand that the child's ability to understand a new language is usually better than his ability to express himself in that language. Many children go through a silent period. Even though they are making good progress in learning English, they do not speak it. Once the child is past this initial period, progress in speaking is very rapid, and the basic interpersonal skills are learned within a year or two. More difficult for our children is the academic language of textbooks and lectures. However, when the material is presented with visuals, with hands-on methods, with strategies to develop essential background information, with maps and study guides, our students can and do learn academic content well.

In the first year of our program when many classroom teachers were facing beginner level students for the first time, in-service workshops were offered by our in-house experts, selected bilingual teachers who were highly skilled in helping students learn English. These teachers presented a one-credit course, a fifteen hour after-school session three hours each week, that helped classroom teachers understand the difficulties in learning a new language as well as the most helpful instructional strategies.

Later, in-service workshops were offered by teacher-experts in literacy instruction, particularly teachers trained in the nationally validated Reading Recovery program. Key to our program success is the ability to teach English reading and writing skills to students who may or may not have acquired these skills in their home language. Children in first grade learn to read in English, regardless of their home language. This defies the "wisdom" of national experts but is based on our documented success. Knowing the specifics of promoting the early stages of literacy is vital for our elementary school teachers and for our English Acquisition teachers.

Teachers of English Acquisition (ESOL) must learn the assessment procedures and monitoring required for all students in the program. Teachers are required to administer the following measures to each student who is ready to move to another level: a reading of a passage, a story retelling exercise, and a writing sample. This evidence of student work is used to document student proficiency levels and is kept in individual student folders.

At the elementary school level, ESOL teachers do not teach a separate curriculum. Their curriculum is the same as that of the regular classroom; their task is to adapt, pre-teach, and re-teach concepts and vocabulary so the English Acquisition student can achieve success in the regular classroom. Collaboration between the regular classroom teacher and the ESOL teacher is

required for the success of this approach. The best teachers are familiar with the demands of the regular curriculum, creative at adapting lessons, and willing to act as advocates for second language learners within the school culture.

Dr. George Gonzalez has designed a very helpful program that advocates the use of quality literature to improve student learning. Dr. Gonzalez's program calls for immersing our second language learners in English language stories and using drama, manipulatives and recitation to build both language and literacy. A published author of Scott Foresman's *Celebrate Reading*, Dr. Gonzalez suggests the use of "ten important sentences" as a means to help students understand the story's main character, settings, problem, events, and resolution. Second language beginner level learners who could not read a difficult ten page story in the fourth grade anthology are able to grasp and retell the "ten important sentences" taken directly from the story. This approach enables our students to remain part of the regular classroom while learning basic literacy skills. Dr. Gonzalez returned to the district for four separate in-service days of training; he is uniformly applauded by teachers who find his ideas practical in their classrooms.

The secondary school English Acquisition teachers adopted texts suitable for their classes at the beginner, intermediate, and advanced level. A conscious effort was made to use texts either at the middle school or high school level but not the same texts at both. Students should not re-read in ninth or tenth grade the same text used in their earlier middle school classes.

For text selection, a few important factors are stressed:

- Each student needs a literature anthology as well as content area texts, i.e., history, science, etc. The *Voices in Literature* series from Heinle and Heinle is useful for middle school instruction. High school teachers like the *Scope* series from Scholastic. Materials based on copies and hand-outs supplement the textbooks.
- Abundant opportunities for wide reading are offered. Sets of novels were chosen by the middle school teachers to be housed in the central office. These books are shared each school quarter with middle school teachers who sign up for particular books. The subjects of these novels are of high interest, but they are written at an easier reading level. Some popular titles are Gary Soto's *Pacific Crossing* and *The Skirt*, Nicholosa Mohr's *Felita* and *Going Home*, S.E. Hinton's *The Outsiders* and, for beginners, Yashima's *Crow Boy*.

THREE REPRESENTATIVE CASE HISTORIES

To understand the program and the needs of our students, it is helpful to review three individual but representative cases. Although the names are changed, the vignettes are taken from actual case histories, and the scores given are exactly those in the students' records.

A Successful Elementary School Student

Leanna is a fairly typical student who entered our district in January 1993, six months before the transition from a bilingual program to a structured English immersion program took place. Leanna was tested for oral language proficiency in Spanish and English. Her Spanish was fluent, and she was a nonspeaker of English. Because at that time the bilingual program was still in place, Leanna was placed in a Spanish Primary Language class at an elementary school that housed all the Primary Language classes in kindergarten, first grade, and second grade. The language environment was completely Spanish in her kindergarten class.

When the program changed, an abrupt shift was required by district policy. Leanna returned to her home neighborhood school where she entered a regular first grade, although half the class was made up of Spanish-speaking second language learners. Teachers in this school expressed fear and anger during the first few months, as they realized that students from the bilingual program did not know basic directions in English or even how to ask questions about lunch or the bathroom. Leanna received 75 minutes daily of instruction from the English Acquisition teacher, who herself was bilingual in English and Spanish. By the spring of that year, Leanna's teacher was eager to report to a visitor that she could not " believe the progress the children have made in learning English." Leanna continued to receive help as a beginner through first and second grade, although her ESOL teacher reported that she progressed from a 1-1-1 (lowest stage in oral language, reading, and writing) to a 2-4-1 (higher levels of oral language and reading). The reading level showed particularly strong improvement; Leanna was learning to read in English.

By the end of second grade, Leanna was rated a 4-4-3 by her teacher who recommended that she move up to the intermediate level. At the intermediate level, she received forty-five minute English lessons three times a week, concentrating on developing her writing skills and her knowledge in content area subjects. She read with ninety-five percent oral reading accuracy a story from the anthology at her grade level and retold the story with one hundred percent accuracy.

At the end of fourth grade, the ESOL teacher rated her a 5-6-4 and moved her up to the advanced level. When she began fifth grade Leanna moved to another school because of her change in residence to another part of the city. As a fifth grade advanced level student in her new school, Leanna was monitored but received no direct help from the ESOL teacher. She was rated a 6-8-4 in June. At this point, evidence was gathered to document that she could exit the program. Leanna read a long passage from the Houghton Mifflin Reading Program fifth grade anthology. Her teacher wrote that though Leanna needed some prompting for details she had a good understanding of story elements and was able to accurately retell the story in its proper sequence. She made few oral reading errors, mispronouncing words such as "crone" and "through." Her writing sample was two and one half pages long with good ideas and no more errors than would be expected of a typical fifth grade native speaker of English. Leanna exited the program after four years of direct support and one year of monitoring. She will attend middle school as a successful regular education student with no ESOL support.

An Elementary School Student with Literacy Problems

Maria was labeled as the lowest performing kindergarten student in her class which was located at an elementary school set in a Bethlehem housing project. Ninety-eight percent of the students in this school are on free or reduced lunch; at least half come to school speaking Spanish as their first language. The teachers and principal in this school are energetic, competent, caring, and are well known for their skill and dedication.

Maria was tested for language proficiency when she transferred into our district. She had attended only a month of kindergarten in May after arriving from Honduras, and school officials wanted to place her back in kindergarten. However, our district policy is placement at age appropriate grades. Maria was six years old and eligible for grade one. Consequently, Maria was placed in the first grade and labeled as the "most at-risk student" in her class. As a beginner in the English Acquisition program, Maria received seventy-five minutes daily of special instruction from the ESOL teacher. This support, designed to pre-teach and re-teach the content of the regular classroom, helps students make comprehensible what they learn. The ESOL teacher may read and reread the story from the literature anthology, use photos, drawings, picture books, and computer resources to illustrate concepts and to teach important vocabulary. The weekly spelling list may be adapted and taught with hands-on methods, such as music and chants and the use of word and letter cards to help students sort out words. In addition, students are provided many opportunities to write in a daily journal. In spite of help from the ESOL teacher and a very caring Latina classroom teacher, Maria struggled to learn. She was

timid and withdrawn, spoke little in class, and did not seem able to pick up the English language arts and reading her classmates were learning quickly.

Maria was enrolled in the Reading Recovery program, an internationally recognized program to bring first grade students in the lowest twenty percent of their first grade classrooms up to the average level of their classmates. Reading Recovery teachers receive intensive, year long training and must take six graduate level credits in addition to teaching severely at-risk first graders for thirty minute daily sessions under the supervision of a Reading Recovery Teacher Leader. Reading Recovery guidelines direct schools to work first with the most needy children in first grade and not to exclude any child.

Maria received thirty minutes daily of Reading Recovery lessons in addition to the regular classroom reading program. At the beginning of her Reading Recovery Program, Maria could not recognize many letters and could not read any words or write any words except her name and "mom." Maria cooperated with the Reading Recovery teacher; parent contact revealed the mother to be very bright and interested, and willing to support the program by hearing her daughter read aloud the little books she brought home each night. The mother spoke only Spanish at this point; Maria was able to follow directions in English, but found it difficult to come up with the English word she needed to communicate.

The daily reading and writing sessions required in Reading Recovery were a wonderful vehicle to develop not only her reading and writing but also her oral language receptive and expressive skills. At the end of seventy-one thirty minute lessons, Maria read at the "end of first grade" reading level. The progress over these seventy-one lessons was uneven, particularly in the first forty lessons. Maria ran her words together during the writing part of the lesson; she confused *m* and *n*, although multiple chances to learn these were offered. Too often Maria turned to the teacher during the lesson for help with a difficult word. The program's goal is to help students use their own strategies when they meet with difficulty. However, in Reading Recovery the pressure is on the teacher to help the child become independent, to find just the right book, and make the right teaching point to accelerate the child's learning.

Maria learned to dictate simple sentences that were cut apart and practiced at home; she eagerly took home four to six little books to practice each night. By lesson fifty-eight, Maria read a level twelve text with ninety-nine percent accuracy, and could reread and self-correct her own errors. By lesson sixty-two, Maria would not skip an unknown word or guess wildly; she worked silently, asking for help only when her own strategies failed. By lesson seventy-two,

Maria could read *There's a Nightmare in My Closet*, a popular children's book by Mercer Mayer. Her classroom teacher reported an enormous gain in her self-esteem and her willingness to raise her hand and participate in class. Even her math skills improved as she invested more energy in her school work. Although she had been considered for retention, Maria was promoted to second grade. By March of grade two, Maria was moved up to the intermediate level in language proficiency. During grade three, she was cited as an able reader and moved in May to the advanced level. During fourth grade, Maria will receive only classroom instruction; no ESOL support will be given although the teacher will monitor her progress. By the end of fourth grade, Maria will probably exit the program, reading and performing on grade level. Without the special support of Reading Recovery, Maria was in danger of retention and probable placement in Special Education.

A High School Student with Multiple Problems

Roberto registered in the district at the beginning of the 1995–96 school year. He had attended school in Puerto Rico from kindergarten through seventh grade, attended eighth grade in a neighboring city in Pennsylvania, and returned to Puerto Rico for ninth grade. His proficiency level in English at entry to tenth grade was intermediate but he was quite weak in reading and writing skill.

Roberto was placed in the non-academic track at the high school. His social skills were outstanding; he is outgoing with peers and teachers, and he became an officer of the Latino Leadership Club. However, his investment in school work was minimal; his homework was not completed, and his number of absences was high. Teachers worried that he would not stay in school long enough to graduate. Roberto's mother, a single parent with one other child, struggled financially to keep the family together. Roberto was placed in the district's pilot school-to-work program, the Liberty High School/St. Luke's Hospital Health Career Program. The goal of the program is to motivate these students to stay in school, improve their English and science skills, and show them real career opportunities in health fields. Roberto was required to apply for entry into this program. As a condition of acceptance he was required to sign a contract stating he understood the requirements for good attendance and for the maintenance of academic standards. He also agreed to accept the Code of Conduct rules at the high school and at the hospital. He was pretested in June 1997 on the Language Assessment Scales and received a score of seventy-five, which placed him at Level Three, Limited English Proficiency.

Throughout the 1997–1998 school year, Roberto was an active participant at the hospital program two afternoons a week. His English and science cur-

ricula helped prepare him and the other students for the training at the hospital. He worked with forty-one different mentors within the hospital and was required to keep a notebook with specific questions to answer for each rotation. Hospital staff came to the high school one afternoon each week to discuss issues with the students. He and the other fifteen students involved were impressed by the teamwork, the caring atmosphere, and high level of performance of the hospital staff.

By the spring of the year, Roberto was working five hours a week at the hospital after school, a job that brought much needed income to his struggling family. His supervisor stated that he could use a dozen more workers like Roberto because of his excellent attitude, good attendance record, and his motivation to learn. Roberto became motivated to learn in school as well and began to excel in his academic subjects. His teachers at the high school reported an amazing change in attitude that they attributed directly to the school-to-work program. At the end of the year, Roberto was re-tested with the Language Assessment Scale and scored a ninety at Level Four, within the fluent range of English proficiency. He was exited from the program in June, 1998. Roberto will continue to pursue academic biology and will take part in a cooperative program with the local health bureau during his senior year in high school

CONCLUSION

Districts must provide for English language learners a well-organized, high quality program to teach English and literacy skills. It is also vital to provide "safety net" programs for students who enter with family and/or learning problems.

Making a major change from a bilingual program to a program of structured English immersion requires determination, flexibility, planning, and a willingness to deal with details. Parents are very supportive of instruction in English and want desperately for their children to find success in an English-speaking job environment. Parents continue to speak Spanish at home and want someone in their child's school to be able to communicate with them. Teachers from the former bilingual program have been a valuable part of this program's success and in maintaining home-school communication. The district also uses Spanish facsimiles of report cards and sends newsletters and important notices home in English and Spanish.

The evidence shows that children can and do learn English and their school subjects taught in English in a structured English immersion program. Students in this district are able to be successful in the regular program after a

relatively brief period of special help. The daily hour or so of support services that the Bethlehem School District provides to second language learners for three or four years is vital to their academic success. These children are our future doctors, teachers, business managers, and artists. Their diverse backgrounds will lend strength to our society as they participate in the full range of opportunities in the English-speaking community.

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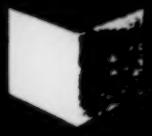

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